

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR MARCH, 1927

Mr. Ford and Mr. Edison.....	Frontispiece	Out of Gas?.....	265
The Progress of the World—		By JOHN HEISLER	
An Expiring Congress.....	227	The American Policy in China.....	269
Leadership in the Senate.....	227	By HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG	
Bi-partisan Achievements.....	227	Revision of Treaties with China.....	271
Newspapers as Teachers.....	228	By HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER	
The Press Has to Pay Its Own Way.....	228	Unrest in Asia and Latin America; German Issues.....	273
Marvels of News Gathering.....	228	By FRANK H. SIMONDS	
Where Praise Is Due.....	229	America and Europe.....	281
Demands of a New Class of Readers.....	229	By ALFRED ZIMMERN	
Special Groups, and the News.....	230	An American's Observations.....	285
They Are Aware of Brisbane and Cadman..	231	By CHARLES H. LEVERMORE	
Specializing in Depravity.....	231	Kingsport, Tennessee.....	287
The British Press and Its Public.....	232	By JOHN NOLEN	
Happy and Wholesome Youth.....	233	Gasoline and Cigarettes.....	292
What of Censorship in General?.....	233	Canberra: Australia's New Capital....	293
Forward-Looking Britishers.....	234	By SIR HENRY LUNN	
We Send a Minister to Ottawa.....	235	The World's Farmers Get Together... ..	297
Peace Depends upon Good Will.....	235	By KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD	
Professor Zimmern Analyses.....	235	A Prophet of Rural Life.....	299
Dr. Levermore Observes.....	236	By JOHN D. WILLARD	
An Empire in Transition.....	236	The Man Who "Oregonized" New Hampshire.....	301
Olive Branches to China.....	236	By HENRY BAILEY STEVENS	
Our Own Chinese Policy.....	237	Soil Conservation.....	303
Able and Trained Chinese Statesmen.....	237	By HUGH HAMMOND BENNETT	
More Quiet in Central America.....	237	Voices Across the Sea.....	307
Nothing Critical in Mexico.....	238	By HENRY WYSHAM LANIER	
Political Weather for March.....	238	Leading Articles of the Month—	
McAdoo Challenges.....	238	The Farmer and the Tariff.....	312
Dr. Butler Defines Issues.....	239	An Amusement Park for a German City..	313
The "Wet" and "Dry" Issue.....	239	Horses and Sport.....	314
Will Coolidge Run Again?.....	240	Men and Women in the Foreground.....	315
Farm Relief.....	240	Financial Discussion for the Layman....	319
If the President Should Take a Chance... ..	241	Religious Liberty—The Great Illusion... ..	320
Democrats Seeking a Candidate.....	241	Labor Troubles in Java.....	321
Smith in a Popular Referendum.....	242	What's Wrong with the Theater?.....	322
The Governor Busy at Albany.....	242	The Passing of the Family.....	323
The President on Naval Reduction.....	243	Need for a National Gallery of Art.....	325
Modernizing New York's Houses.....	243	Prehistoric America.....	326
Town-Planners Changing America.....	244	The British Army in the Revolution.....	328
Australia's New Federal Capital.....	244	British Press Reviewed.....	329
Florida's Worthy Ambitions.....	245	French Comment.....	331
Progress in the Work of Education.....	245	Italian Comment.....	332
The Gist of a Month's News.....	246	The New Books.....	333
Cartoons of the Month.....	250	The Printed Drama.....	335
Divorce Publicity Here and Abroad... ..	257		
By JUDSON C. WELIVER			
Two of the Senate's Official Leaders... ..	262		
By WILLIAM HARD			
Investment Questions and Answers.....	Page 6, advertising section		

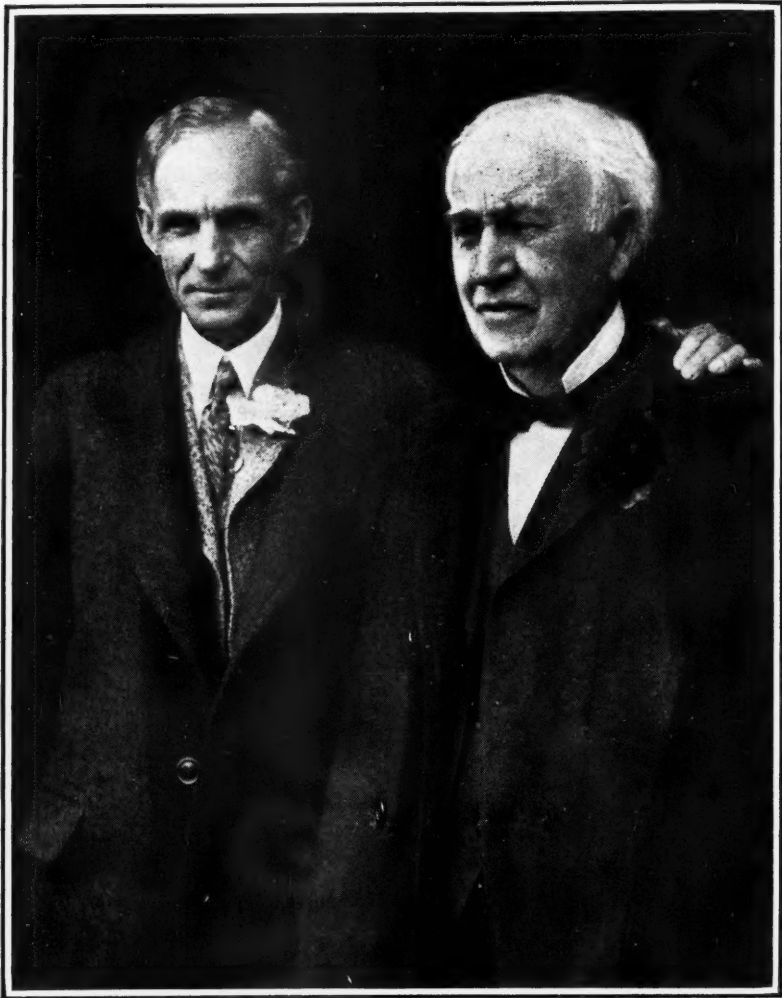
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THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CORPORATION, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York

Publishers of THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS and THE GOLDEN BOOK MAGAZINE

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.

225



**HENRY FORD VISITS THOMAS A. EDISON ON THE INVENTOR'S
EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY, FEBRUARY 11**

(Here are two of America's foremost citizens, both of whom have spent their lives inventing and producing things that contribute materially to the well-being of the masses. Mr. Ford's energies have been devoted largely to one product. Mr. Edison's activities have included the perfection of the incandescent electric lamp, the motion picture, the phonograph, the storage battery, and vital elements in modern telephone, telegraph, and radio transmission. It would be difficult to find a home in the whole land that has not felt his influence)

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXXV.

NEW YORK, MARCH, 1927

No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

An Expiring Congress

The Sixty-ninth Congress is completing what, upon the whole, is a commendable record. On the 4th of March its term will have ended. President Coolidge on that date will have served exactly half of his present four-year term. The business of the present Congress session has gone forward so well that there is no longer any prospect of an early special session of the Seventieth Congress. Nothing but a failure to pass annual appropriation bills, or some extraordinary emergency, would have given occasion for a special session. The new Congress will come together on the first Monday of next December. It is already settled that the Hon. Nicholas Longworth will be continued in his present office of Speaker of the next House, the Republicans keeping majority control, but by a reduced margin. Floor leaders and committee chairmen will doubtless remain in their positions as at present.

Leadership in the Senate

In the Senate the two parties will be almost evenly balanced, and this fact lends unusual importance to Senator Shipstead of Minnesota, who represents the Farmer-Labor party and who might turn the scale in close divisions. Our picturesque and justly famous Vice-President, Hon. Charles G. Dawes, will of course continue to perform his constitutional duties as presiding officer of the Senate until his term ends on March 4, 1929. Taking the place of Mr. Dawes, when that gentleman is absent or napping, is the learned and popular Senator from New Hampshire, Hon. George H. Moses, whose fellow Senators have given him the post of President pro tem as provided for in the Constitution, and who will doubtless

insist upon continuing him in that place of honor (formerly held by the late Senator Cummins of Iowa) during the Seventieth Congress. A close-up view of a public man like Dawes or Moses reveals things that are not visible at long range. Mr. William Hard, in our present number, gives us just such intimate pictures of these two men; and his deft character sketching reveals some things that are pleasant to know. Senator Curtis of Kansas will doubtless be retained in his arduous duties as Republican Floor Leader, and it is also to be assumed that the Democrats will again draft for like service the public-spirited and alert Senator Robinson of Arkansas.

Bi-partisan Achievements

The best work performed by the Sixty-ninth Congress has at every stage illustrated the value of coöperation across party lines when subjects under treatment do not really test party convictions or require organized party action. For example, the present tax law was worked out by the joint efforts of Republican and Democratic leaders in the Ways and Means Committee, and it was thus reported and enacted with little opposition. When the Senate voted in favor of our joining the World Court, it was a Democrat, Senator Swanson, who championed the action recommended by President Coolidge, and the subject was handled without any reference to party attitudes. World-wide significance was accorded to the unanimous vote of the Senate that has encouraged President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg to go as far as possible in upholding the American principle of arbitration in case of a failure to reach diplomatic agreements in matters under

discussion with the Government of Mexico. When the farm relief bill, under the leadership of Senator McNary, secured a favorable vote on February 11, in its present revised form, it was noted that a majority of the Republican Senators and a similar majority on the Democratic side voted for the measure with a strong minority in each party opposing. This difficult question had been treated as of a non-partisan character. Again, it is to be noted that wet and dry issues have continued to hold a status entirely non-partisan, although there has not been much action, apart from appropriation bills, on the liquor question in the Sixty-ninth Congress. There have been investigations and heart-searchings over money spent in primary elections, but it is to be noted that the spirit of reform, as manifested in Congress, has not been confined to one party or the other. Finally, it is to be remarked that the Coolidge Administration has worked with the Sixty-ninth Congress without deadlock or impatience, while the executive and legislative branches of the government have endeavored to respect each other's spheres of authority.

Newspapers as Teachers Constant interest in public affairs is essential for the citizen of a nation that is capable of governing itself. There is more than one way to acquire knowledge of these subjects of general concern, but undoubtedly for most people the reading of newspapers affords not only the most convenient but also the most indispensable means. It is the duty, therefore, of newspapers that deserve the name to take themselves and their functions responsibly. It is for them to remember that they are as necessary a part of the mechanism of education as are the public schools. The schools, however, are maintained by taxation. The best of the teachers and superintendents are not paid as much as they might be earning in pursuits more directly commercial, but they find compensation in the work of teaching. While they train the rising generation to take its proper place and carry on our tasks of civilization, they are also living in the realms of the mind, and are freed from some of the vexations that afflict more competitive callings. Education, after all, is the highest function, and every person of character, who has some sense of the meaning of life and the nature of human society, must

feel that in one way or another, however slight or limited, it is his duty to teach. The men and women of the press cannot avoid recognizing that obligation.

The Press Has to Pay Its own Way

Many people having to do with the business of collecting, presenting, and distributing news through the medium of the daily press are discouraged because the actual achievement falls so far short of their ideals. But, unlike the public schools, the press does not feed at the official crib, and it has to be managed for private gain. Although all the taxpayers are directly dependent upon the newspapers for the information that enables them to act intelligently as citizens, they obtain for a few pennies every day what is the most marvelous, and relatively the most costly, product of our age. In all parts of the world the news is collected by people who must be well trained in a skilled profession. Through the air and under the oceans, from the capitals and the focal points of all countries, each day brings its significant budget of information. This business of presenting news is near the very top of the list in any category of social services that could not be dispensed with.

Marvels of News Gathering

We have thus been enabled to watch the progress of a great struggle in China. We follow the fortunes of rulers and leaders in their domestic policies, and of adventurous messengers in their flights by air or in their travels to the Antipodes. To be supported in all its costly enterprises, the press must seek large circulation and abundant advertising. Of necessity, the advertising adapts itself to the quantity and also to the quality of the circulation. The more expensive the production of modern newspapers becomes, the more controlling is the counting-room point of view as contrasted with that of the editorial rooms. Thus contradictory tendencies are making the newspapers seem at once better and worse. A larger and less fastidious public wants news in the familiar realm of things private and personal.

Catering to Many Tastes

These remarks about the press are not made as the sower might scatter seed at random. We have some definite situations in mind that ought to be well analyzed and frankly discussed. Nothing could be further from our purpose than to read lectures to the

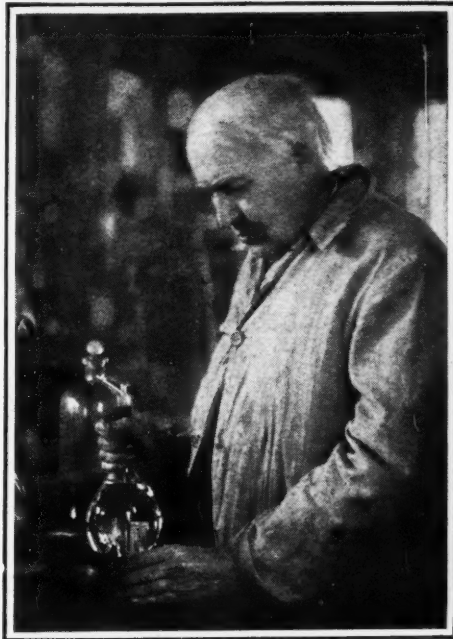
owners and editors of newspapers. These are highly departmentalized products. The reader who buys his paper for its commercial and financial news finds what he wishes. If he is a mature man of business, he is solely responsible for whatever interest or taste he may exhibit in reading other sections or portions of his daily journal. The woman who devours the social news of her locality, and who cares to read columns devoted to household and domestic concerns, will find herself well rewarded in distinct parts of a well-edited newspaper. She is not obliged to read about politics, finance or crime. The man who gives conscious and unbroken attention to affairs of government and politics will always find much that he seeks, and will rely upon his favorite newspaper as a guide to the course of affairs at Washington or the capital of his own State, or to the varied activities of his own city.

*Where
Praise
is Due*

Thus, for people of healthy minds and of normal purpose, the press renders a daily service, which, far from being negligible or unworthy, is of priceless benefit. There is vastly more to praise than to blame. For the mature reader not to be benefited by his daily use of newspapers is to confess his own lack of a self-directed and discriminating mind. Editorial interpretations, as they deal with current events, are not nowadays tending toward clap-trap partisanship. Nor are they, speaking as a rule, otherwise than well-considered, ably written, obviously sincere, and typically sympathetic toward things that are just and of good report.

*Demands of
a New Class
of Readers*

There are, however, certain faults in newspapers that arise chiefly from the coincidence of two tendencies. When the reading of the daily newspaper was far from general, the appeal was almost wholly to citizens interested in political and business affairs, and to readers who had some standards of literary and esthetic taste. But as the times have changed the newspapers have filtered down, as it were, to the great mass of people who were not readers in an earlier period. Or, to put it in another way, what was virtual illiteracy has disappeared, and everybody nowadays reads the newspapers. This is good in itself, but it produces a transitional stage in which the press, responding to the law of supply and demand, seems impelled to give the reader what he wants in order to



OUR MOST FAMOUS CITIZEN

(Fifty years ago Mr. Edison established a workshop in New Jersey, and there his fertile brain has created many appliances now in every-day use by millions. The phonograph, the incandescent lamp, the motion picture, and essential parts of telephone, telegraph and wireless transmission—these are but a few of Mr. Edison's achievements.)

maintain the circulation that is necessary for the revenue by means of which to produce the newspaper as a whole.

*Creating
this New
Public*

We are living in a decade of reaction from the Great War, and in a period also that is in contrast in many ways with the stern exactions of the time when work hours were long, wages small, unchecked diseases quite prevalent, and altogether too much misery in the world for popular interest in anything but the toilsome and often desperate circumstances of a personal sort that absorbed the immediate hour. With all the forms of emancipation that have arrived such as the eight-hour day, the improved standards of living, and the comparative freedom from epidemics and other maladies, there has come into existence an entirely new public. This new public is formed of the aggregate of millions of people who had always existed in a private sense but who had not been consciously bound together by joint possession of any subjects of common knowledge or interest or pleasure. Acquiring



BILLY SUNDAY, THE EVANGELIST

(William Ashley Sunday was a professional ball player in his youth, later becoming a Y. M. C. A. secretary in Chicago. Since 1904 he has been engaged continuously in conducting evangelistic revivals in the larger cities. He is one of the country's most widely known citizens)

these common interests is what converts previously unrelated human entities into something that we may call a public.

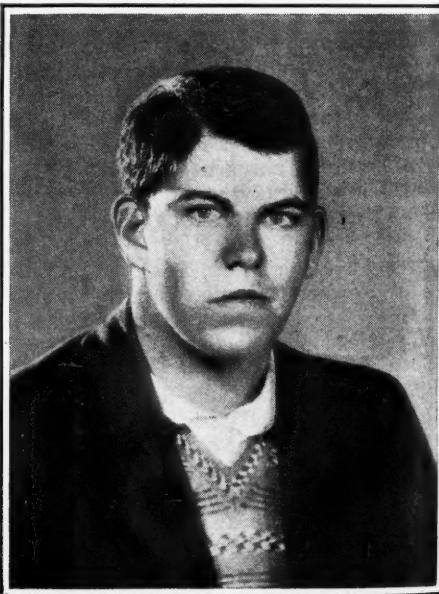
*Special
Groups, and
the News*

When Billy Sunday comes to Chicago, and hundreds of thousands of people through the organized leadership of various churches are induced to take a fresh interest in his efforts to apply the doctrines of evangelical religion to the conduct of life, there is evolved some sort of social entity that we may call a new religious or ethical public. When the motion picture—now a universal form of entertainment—arouses a continuing interest not only in the cinema as such but also in the particular heroes and heroines of the silent drama, there comes into being a definite public that is perfectly understood by those who are engaged in the business of promoting entertainment. Let us keep firmly in mind the fact that there were, once upon a time, millions of people in the United States who if asked to name a list of living public personages would hardly have known the name of the President. They could not have produced any list whatsoever. But those very people or their descendants, to-

day, would share in common a knowledge of the existence of Charlie Chaplin, just as in fact it became evident that they knew all about Rudolf Valentino when he died, not to mention other motion-picture characters, male and female.

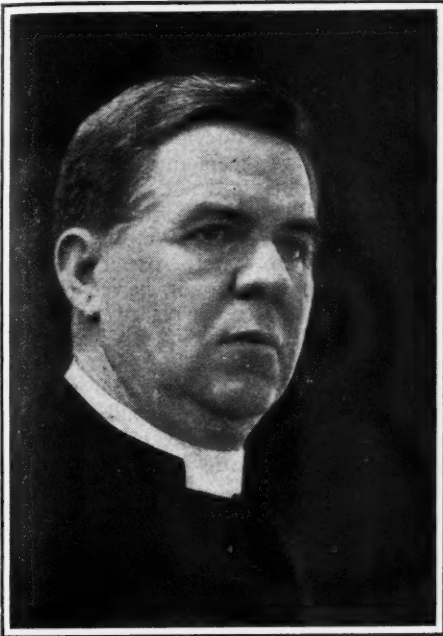
*Whom
Do They
Know?*

They know enough about politics nowadays to name President Coolidge; and, because of the food program of the war, many of them may remember the name of Hoover. Bryan is gone, and neither political party to-day possesses a leader whose popularity has permeated the consciousness of this large new public, although Al Smith and Mr. McAdoo may have broken through. Thomas A. Edison and Henry Ford are indeed widely known. They also know about Mr. Rockefeller. And the Prince of Wales has found his way to recognition by this larger public. So perhaps have one or two of the song writers and producers of jazz music. The literary public, which has been reached alike by the "Story of Philosophy" and "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes," is considerably enlarged, but it is not new either in quality or in vastness of extent. Neither is the public



GEORGE YOUNG, THE TORONTO YOUTH WHO BECAME FAMOUS OVERNIGHT

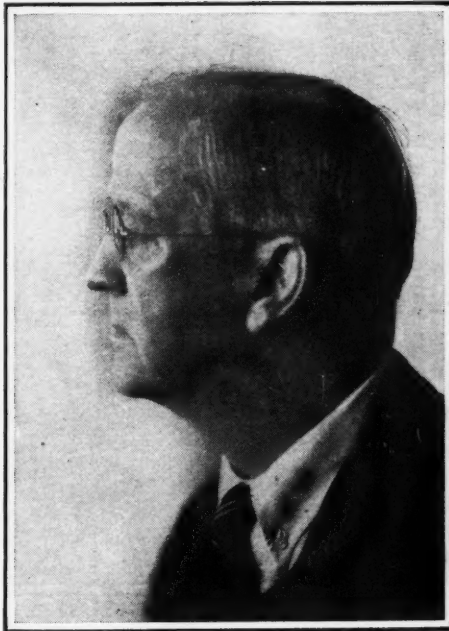
(Out of more than a hundred contestants for a \$25,000 prize, this seventeen-year-old lad alone succeeded in swimming the channel from Catalina Island to the California mainland, on January 16. He was in the water for nearly sixteen hours)



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REV. S. PARKES CADMAN, D.D.

(Several million persons attend Dr. Cadman's Sunday afternoon services, as broadcast by radio. He is pastor of a church in Brooklyn, president of the Federal Council of Churches, and a noted lecturer. His wholesome advice appears in many newspapers)



MR. ARTHUR BRISBANE, EDITOR

(The country's foremost newspaper editor, Mr. Brisbane's "column" is printed in daily newspapers which have a circulation totaling a score of million copies. He is thus the most widely known American journalist and his influence reaches all classes)

of the legitimate drama in any way different; and, indeed, it is shrinking everywhere except in New York City. The vast new public, concerning which these remarks are made, is the one that knows about Tunney and Dempsey, enjoys its sense of familiarity with Babe Ruth and Rogers Hornsby, and have heard of Judge Landis and Ban Johnson. It knows, also, a swimmer or two, especially Gertrude Ederle and George Young.

They Are Aware of Brisbane and Cadman Many members of this new public have encountered the name as well as the daily wisdom of Arthur Brisbane, because his column "To-day" is so widely syndicated as to reach an aggregate newspaper circulation of perhaps twenty millions. Many also are learning the name, and are influenced by the ethical and religious messages, of Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, because his words, too, are so widely distributed by means of the radio as well as through newspaper syndication. Thus this new public finds in its newspapers much that is admirable and highly instructive. But, not having learned to read many books, this public seeks also to find

stories of mystery and of romance in the daily newspaper. It is not well to assume that a public that reads with absorbing interest all it can learn about a tragedy like the Hall-Mills murder in New Jersey is showing a degenerate preference for what is evil. Nor should one be too certain that the deplorable publicity of such divorce trials as that of Browning or Chaplin is final evidence of a hopelessly vicious taste on the part of this great and immature reading public. The mind of the community is more active than ever before, and will acquire better taste.

Specializing in Depravity

Nevertheless, there has sprung into existence a specialized form of publication that caters purposely to a prurient tendency, and that not only defies standards of decency but does not hesitate to ally itself with whatever agencies are known as corrupters of youth. Against that type of periodical there has arisen a wide protest. The remedy cannot be left wholly to parents, because, speaking at large, the young people of to-day are better advised as to manners and morals than their fathers and mothers. The best



BARON BEAVERBROOK

(In 1910 William Maxwell Aitken, a successful Canadian business man, moved to England to enter politics; and within seven years he had become a cabinet minister. He was raised to the peerage in 1917. After the war he purchased the *Express* and *Evening Standard*, becoming one of England's leading newspaper publishers)

newspapers, either openly or by inference, give their readers only the "news that's fit to print," but they too seem at times to go a little beyond what in their own judgment would be strictly desirable, because they have to reckon with enlarged circulations and ill-assorted tastes.

Should Divorce Trials be Public? A fresh discussion has begun in regard to publishing vast quantities of sensational material relating to scandalous divorce trials and murder trials. The subject has been given such current importance (chiefly by reason of certain extreme instances) that we have asked a writer and journalist of broad experience, Mr. Judson C. Welliver, to discuss it for our readers in the present number of the *REVIEW*, especially as it relates to court proceedings in divorce trials. The thing that stands out above all else in the news is the sudden action of the British Parliament. The English papers, which have a well-earned tradition of respectability and dullness, have long had the habit of breaking loose when a divorce in so-called "high life" has given the opportunity to print page after page of verbatim testimony. This having

reached a climax, there has been sharp reaction, and a new law ends that journalistic practice with a startling clam. Mr. Welliver brings these English facts to our attention.

The British Press and its Public

It is to be noted that British newspapers until somewhat recently did not have universal circulation. But under the influence of the journalistic policies of the late Lord Northcliffe and other owners of popular dailies, the British public may now be regarded as completely saturated, as regards the habit of reading daily newspapers—for racing news if for nothing else, since most "lower-class" Englishmen bet on horse races. Lord Northcliffe has passed beyond; but his brother, Lord Rothermere, carries on the Northcliffe press, and publishes several dailies, while Lord Beaverbrook also owns a series of newspapers, including the *Express*. In fact, three-fourths of the newspaper circulation of the entire island of Great Britain is now under not more than three or four separate ownerships. To maintain these popular circulations, newspapers must cater to the intelligence and the tastes of readers that are below the grade of those



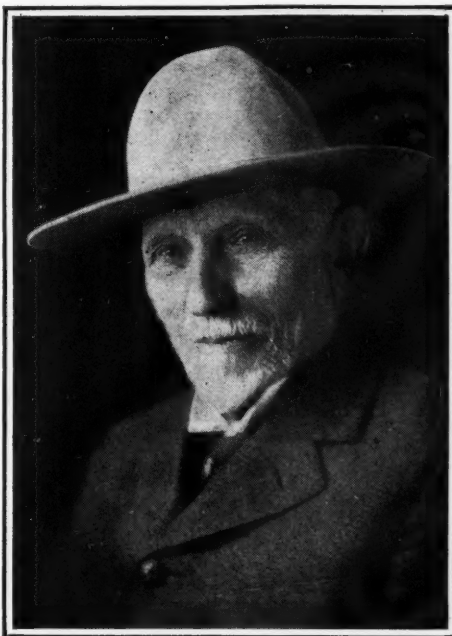
VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

(For twenty years Lord Rothermere was associated with his elder brother, the late Lord Northcliffe, in great newspaper enterprises in London. He is the present owner of the *London Daily Mail*, said to have the largest circulation among all the world's newspapers. He served as Air Minister during the war)

who are addicted to the London *Times* or the Manchester *Guardian*. The real incentive for this surprising act of Parliament relative to divorce proceedings is to be found in the tendencies of journalism as resulting from concentrated ownership and the pressure for large circulations. The more rigidly the popular press is expurgated, the better chance there is for independent journalism on the higher plane.

Customs, Foreign and Domestic As Mr. Weilver points out, the French papers have not been allowed to revel in the details of these scandalous trials. Freedom from publicity is one reason why many Americans seek divorce in the Paris or Nice courts. There is, of course, a separate question, namely, how much bearing publicity has upon the frequency or infrequency of actions for divorce. This phase, however, does not seem to us to be quite as vital as some moralists and certain judges seem to think. It will be well to watch the effect in England of this new restriction upon the printing of court proceedings. Our habit of exploiting sensations of all kinds is more general and deep-seated than the British, because our newspapers serve a more diversified public, and one that has a wider range of interest and curiosity. Already we have laws everywhere against things obscene and indecent in books and newspapers, as well as on the stage. But what is hard for judges and juries to determine when particular complaints are made, is quite sure to baffle the police when they are sent forth to protect public morals. Opinions and standards vary greatly and shift from time to time.

Happy and Wholesome Youth There are pneumonia germs all about us; yet most healthy people escape that disease. It is desirable to protect the young and immature from bad influences, and there are people always ready to commercialize vice and to corrupt those who have not learned wisdom and self-control. And yet wholesome and normal interests and occupations, along with an abundance of innocent pleasure, are quite sufficient for most young human animals. There is vastly less depravity among the British and American populations to-day than even half a century ago. Those who think that newspapers and moving pictures are spreading crime and immorality ought to study the real facts of life in London, or even in American cities like New



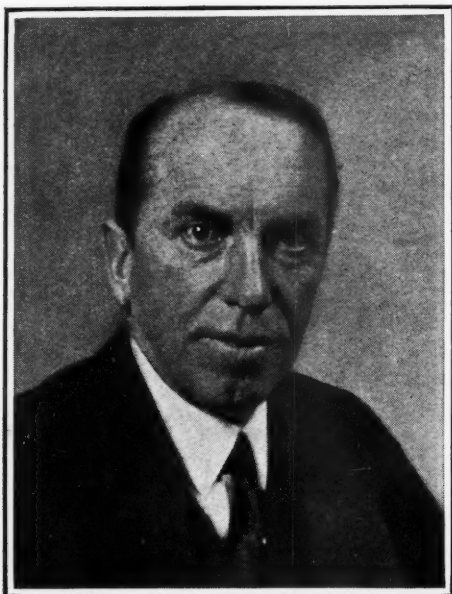
"DAN" BEARD, IDOL OF THE BOY SCOUTS

(As National Scout Commissioner and Honorary Vice-President of the Boy Scouts of America—Mr. Coolidge being Honorary President—Daniel Carter Beard well represents that great movement for the moral and physical training of boys, which now has half a million active members)

York, seventy-five or a hundred years ago. It was the very lack of such good things as newspapers and moving pictures for the masses that, in part, accounted for those evil conditions that were so widespread in the days of our pious great-grandfathers. Our city youngsters of 1927 are marvels of propriety when compared with those of 1827. Freedom is a great moral tonic, and so is prosperity. Pure water, clean streets, plenty of lights, well-regulated tenement houses, good public schools, reasonably short working hours, good wages, comfortable and tasteful clothing, good food and good health as the rule and not the exception—in short, freedom from misery, starvation, rags and despair—along with the positive opportunities and inducements that stimulate hope and ambition: such are the real instruments of reform and progress. Getting up in the world is a wonderful aid to sobriety and good conduct.

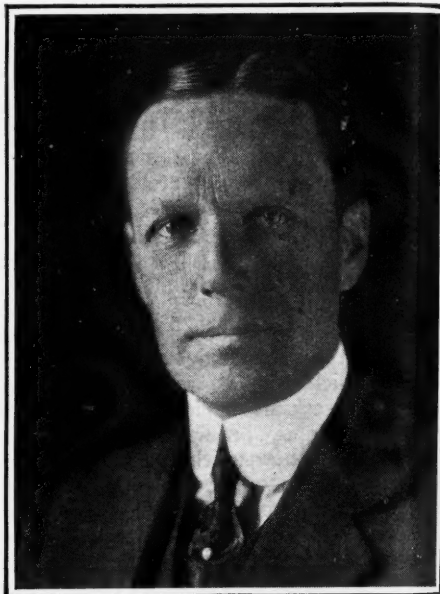
What of Censorship in General?

To prohibit the printing of divorce proceedings is, of course, a form of official censorship. Yet some things have to be regulated by law



HON. FREDERICK A. STERLING, WHO BECOMES OUR FIRST MINISTER TO IRELAND

(Since 1911, when he entered the diplomatic service, Mr. Sterling has occupied posts in Russia, China, France, and Peru, as secretary or counselor, and served also in the State Department at Washington. He was born in St. Louis and was graduated from Harvard in 1898.)



HON. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, WHO BECOMES OUR FIRST MINISTER TO CANADA

(A Harvard graduate, in 1900, Mr. Phillips has made the diplomatic service his career. He has had official posts in China, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Belgium, rising to the rank of Ambassador; and in addition he has served at Washington as Assistant Secretary of State.)

in order not only to protect the community as a whole but also to defend well-meaning producers against foul competition. There is more chance for decent plays if thoroughly bad ones are thrown into the street. There is better encouragement for good newspapers and their further improvement if freedom for specialization in filth is denied to their corrupt competitors. We are expecting to publish certain articles upon this subject of censorship next month; and meanwhile our readers are urged to consider the subject with reference to their own communities. We shall be glad to hear from them, particularly as to local conditions. The stage, the movies, the press, all are under fire.

**Forward-Looking
Britishers**

The promptness with which in New York, and perhaps some other States, legislative bills were introduced in imitation of the new English law against publishing divorce proceedings is another evidence of the growing solidarity not only of the English-speaking world but of civilized mankind in general. We should make a great mistake if we ceased to give attentive study to all serious move-

ments of thought and life in Great Britain particularly, but also, as a matter of course, in many other countries. Our British friends are capable of sweeping and courageous action in the face of emergencies; and they are not such sticklers for tradition and consistency as Americans have been accustomed to believe. They broke up Irish landlordism by law, and created a new Ireland of agricultural proprietors. They then proceeded to set Ireland up as a self-governing dominion, and permitted the Irish Free State to send her own representative to the League of Nations and also to send a legation to Washington headed by a fully empowered Minister. Canada for a long time has conducted the affairs of a confederated democracy with entire freedom, and with such success as to mark her as one of the foremost examples of good government in all the history of the world. In a spirit of perfect understanding between the authorities at Ottawa and those at Westminster, Canada also sets up her own legation at Washington, maintains her representation at Geneva, and without bluster or self-advertisement steps out to an independent career in the family of nations,

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*We Send
a Minister
to Ottawa*

We are now reciprocating by sending an American envoy to Canada in the person of Mr. William Phillips. He has had long experience in the State Department, and resigns from his post as Ambassador at Brussels to become the first United States Minister at Ottawa. Whenever our Canadian friends so choose, it is needless to say that Congress and the President will be glad to join in raising the rank of Mr. Vincent Massey and Mr. William Phillips from that of Minister to that of Ambassador. The relationships between the United States and Canada, with no military defenses at any point across the continent, are often cited as a good example. What is most important, however, is not the negative situation, but rather the positive one that underlies everything else. Canada rests in serene reliance upon the good will that maintains peace. We in the United States are proud of the progress of Canada, and could not be induced to assume an unfriendly or overbearing attitude, any more than the State of New York could be tempted to view with hostile mind the political and economic progress of New England. It is this state of mind, on all sides, that gives value to the relationships now existing within the group made up of Great Britain and the so-called dominions. The peaceful and friendly evolution of the British Empire is one of the subjects best worth study on the part of young Americans who are wise enough to see how valuable for knowledge of current affairs is a study of the backgrounds.

*Peace
Depends upon
Good Will*

As Mr. Simonds so well points out in his far-ranging contribution to our present issue, it is this growth of understanding and good will that must be relied upon to build that future structure of continental Europe that is to protect the peoples extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and from the English Channel to the Black Sea. International good will as between France and Germany is a hard thing to achieve, but it must come. It took fifty years to heal the breach between our own North and South after the Civil War, although one section has always been just as patriotic as the other. Europe has even more to overcome.



DR. ALFRED ZIMMERN

(Deputy Director of the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Coöperation and widely known in England and America as a lecturer and professor of political science and international politics)

*Professor
Zimmern
Analyses*

In view of the remarkable article that Mr. Simonds wrote for our February number on the deep dislike entertained in Europe towards the United States, we are especially glad to publish in this number an analysis of the sentiment on both sides by an eminent English writer who knows the United States, and who is as completely detached from narrow prejudice, by virtue of broad views and wide experiences, as is Mr. Simonds himself. This writer is Professor Alfred Zimmern, who is now as well known in American universities and economic circles as in those of England. He is one of the foremost leaders of the constructive educational work that might be regarded as the most valuable continuous function of the League of Nations. Next month we shall publish from his pen an account of the school of international relations of which he is one of the directors, and that is carried on every summer at Geneva as a part of the work of the League's "Institute of Intellectual Coöperation." Although the United States is not in the League, Professor Zimmern tells us that in the summer school at Geneva last year the American students enrolled were about equal to those from all other countries together.



HON. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO, THE COLUMBIA GRADUATE WHO SERVES AS FOREIGN MINISTER IN CHINA

(Only forty years of age, Dr. Koo is a veteran statesman. He was head of the Chinese delegation at the Peace Conference, and also attended the Washington Conference. He has been Minister both to the United States and to Great Britain)

Dr. Levermore Observes It was because of long-continued study, founded upon a remarkable knowledge of history and politics, that Dr. Charles H. Levermore was the winner in 1924 of the large prize offered by Mr. Edward Bok for the best-formulated statement of a method by which the United States could join the European nations in their work for peace. Since that time, covering a period of two and a half years, Dr. Levermore has been quietly traveling through Europe, studying conditions. Upon reading the February number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, and especially Mr. Simonds' article, Dr. Levermore wrote a letter to the editor, the principal part of which we are quoting in this number. His experiences as an American have not been painful, and he now goes to the Far East for a period of further observation of world conditions. Dr. Levermore was a contemporary of President Wilson as a post-graduate student of history and politics in the Johns Hopkins University. He has learned how to see history in the making without too much either of enthusiasm or of disheartenment.

An Empire in Transition

The British Empire no longer exists with the older aims and motives. It has been hard to get rid of the idea that law-makers at Westminster and bureaucrats in government offices at London are divinely ordained to rule over many millions of people in distant lands. This theory of imperial overlordship went hand in hand with the slogan of a Britannia that "rules the waves." But no country henceforth is to be dominant on the seas; and maritime international law, with coöperative policing, will at some future day supersede the menace of these nationalistic navies. The British have built up a vast economic system, and the chief object of their empire now is to protect their commerce and their investments in a period of transition. Every great people is going to rule over itself; and it is no longer the aim of parties led by Premier Baldwin and ex-Premiers MacDonald and Lloyd George to hold in thralldom great masses of people, whether in India or elsewhere. When, a quarter of a century ago, they had conquered two little Boer republics, the British—exercising sober second thought—turned squarely about and gave back the whole of South Africa to the inhabitants thereof, to rule over their people and their resources as they thought best. The British have now virtually withdrawn from Egypt, and do not mean to be guilty of the charge that they are attempting to suppress a rising sense of nationality in the Valley of the Nile.

Olive Branches to China

They have given a new demonstration of having discarded old imperialistic notions in the announcements that Premier Baldwin has made about China, with the support of undivided British sentiment except for a minority element of backward-facing Tories. Great Britain's interests in China have been vast, both in the political and in the economic sense. In one way or another, British investments and commercial commitment in China probably amount to an aggregate of three billion dollars. Although the outright holdings of Chinese soil by Britain are not large in area, they are strategic in their bearing upon commerce and upon naval and military power. The British declared themselves perfectly willing to recognize in every way what has now become an overwhelming demand among the Chinese leaders, both North and South, for freedom from foreign assumptions of superiority. China wishes

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to make her own tariffs, and to exercise judicial functions on her own soil exactly like other sovereign nations. She wishes to resume authority over those places which are now held by foreign governments as "concessions." Our British friends, on their part, wish to keep their investments, and to continue their profitable commercial relations; but they know that these interests can no longer be protected by force, and that to insist upon maintaining unequal treaties can no longer succeed.

***Ships Sent
to Protect
Foreigners***

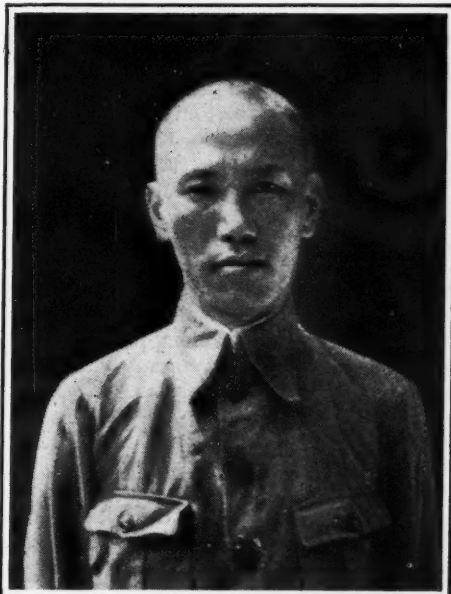
It is true that the British have sent many warships, and thousands of marines and soldiers, to Chinese waters within the past few weeks. But there are tens of thousands of English people residing in China for purposes not harmful in any way to the Chinese, and the British Government proposes to protect its own subjects against mob outrages that might prove worse than the Boxer uprising of 1900. There is no thought on the part of the British authorities of using this armed force to bully either the Peking government or that of the Nationalist faction with headquarters at Canton. The British have held out the olive branch to each of these formidable divisions.

***Our Own
Chinese
Policy***

Events have been moving rapidly to justify the resolution introduced some weeks ago in Congress by Chairman Porter of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. This resolution expressed what is now the accepted American view that, for our part, we are entirely ready to deal fairly with China as regards the abrogation of restrictive treaties, and the recognition of China's full right to regulate her own affairs. President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg entertain like views, and the subject was set forth on January 26 in a statement by Mr. Kellogg which seems to us to mark an historical moment, and which, therefore, we are glad to print in this number. China will do well to accept advice from Washington.

***Able and
Trained Chi-
nese Statesmen***

Movements in China are not under the control to-day of men of obscure minds or narrow experience. Mr. Alfred Sze, the Chinese Minister at Washington, is a diplomat of the highest qualifications. Mr. Wellington Koo, head of the Peking Foreign Office, who was educated at Columbia University, New



CHIANG-KAI-SHEK, LEADER OF THE NATIONALIST OR CANTONESE REVOLUTIONISTS

(The head of the Nationalist party now in power in southern China is a tall, slight man still in his thirties. He was educated at a Japanese military school, and further trained in strategy by Russians. He has been constantly associated with the revolution begun by the late Sun Yat-Sen in 1913)

York, is one of the most brilliant and accomplished public men of this generation. Among the Southern leaders also are men of education and of international experience, many of them schooled in the United States, Japan, and Europe. It is for us to do all in our power to induce these leaders of the North and of the South to lay down their arms and to unite in founding a new China, with a strong government. They should try to compromise upon a new capital, with a place like Hankow in the Yangtze-kiang Valley, seeming to offer some advantages, although it might be better still to create a new Federal city, as Australia is doing.

***More Quiet
in Central
America***

As regards our policies in Nicaragua and Mexico, everyone now sees that there was too much vociferation and too little attention to the facts on the part of some critics. Our relations to Nicaragua are such that we were amply justified in trying to save that little republic from the needless horrors of a devastating civil war, precipitated by rival groups of politicians, and having no meaning at all for the great mass of inhabi-

tants, who are entitled to remain at peace in order that they may enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The landing of American marines has proved salutary, and no apologies are due from Uncle Sam for this additional evidence of his friendly concern. As for trying to persuade the Central American republics to come together in some closer relationship, we have been exercising our good offices at Washington toward that end at intervals for the better part of a century. Such a consummation, while probably desirable at some future time, is evidently not among present possibilities. Meanwhile, February had not ended the revolt led by Dr. Sacasa.

*Nothing
Critical in
Mexico*

Our discussion of the Mexican situation was closed for the press last month just before the United States Senate took the notable step of adopting, without a dissenting voice, a resolution presented by Senator Robinson of Arkansas favoring the resort to arbitration in case of differences with Mexico that could not be otherwise arranged by diplomacy or by an appeal to the courts. The passage of this resolution had no legal bearing, but as news it had great influence. There had been loose talk floating about among political critics of the Administration (and certain ill-informed advocates of peace measures) to the effect that President Coolidge was contemplating armed hostilities against Mexico, or else was disposed to supply arms and ammunition and otherwise to give aid and comfort to a revolution against the government of President Calles. Those who are better informed have understood all along that President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg were just as fully committed to arbitration as were the gentlemen who occupy seats in the United States Senate. It happens, however, that the President and the Secretary are responsible for carrying on the negotiations with Mexico, while the Senators have no more responsibility than have a similar number of professors in Columbia University, who might also, with like pertinence, have passed unanimously a resolution favoring arbitration. As regards the property rights of foreign oil companies, pleas have been made to the Mexican courts. Some preliminary steps, in the form of injunctions granted, would seem to have prevented a summary application of the Mexican laws that went into nominal effect on January 1.

*Political
Weather for
March*

At about this time, according to the political almanac of each year that precedes the year of a presidential election, one may always expect to find a somewhat sudden outburst of candid talk about party platforms and presidential candidates. On the Democratic side, the current discussion was precipitated by the Hon. William G. McAdoo, in a speech at Toledo, Ohio, on January 28. Mr. McAdoo said many interesting and pertinent things, because he has a virile grasp upon the political and governmental problems of the country, and he also has frankness and aggressive courage. His speech was a challenge to the Eastern politicians who had announced that Governor Al Smith of New York was already "as good as" nominated by the Democratic party, with election prospects that left the Republicans little if any chance. Governor Smith has been made more conspicuously the heroic and triumphant leader of the wets than he himself might have preferred. There is a pro-liquor movement that is more fanatical than philosophical; and it might be simply fair to say that Al Smith does not take the prohibition question in the spirit of a one-idea crusader. But circumstances have made him as wet as the Brennan machine in Chicago, or the Tammany machine in New York; and for him there is no escape from these entangling alliances.

*McAdoo
Challenges*

Mr. McAdoo comes up from the South and the West, with a championship of the existing Constitution and laws that offers not a single word of apology and that has no suggestions for compromise or retreat. He denies that the Democratic party is going to run a wet candidate on a wet platform. Newspapers and politicians in New York at once pointed out to Mr. McAdoo that, instead of making his own nomination the more assured, he had taken a fatal step and had committed political suicide. Courageous men of course are always committing political suicide, in the opinion of those who wish their downfall. Mr. McAdoo may jauntily answer that he said nothing about being a candidate himself, and that he was talking of principles and expressing what he believed to be the best conviction of a majority of the Democratic party. Meanwhile, he has raised constitutional questions that lawyers and judges are puzzling about.

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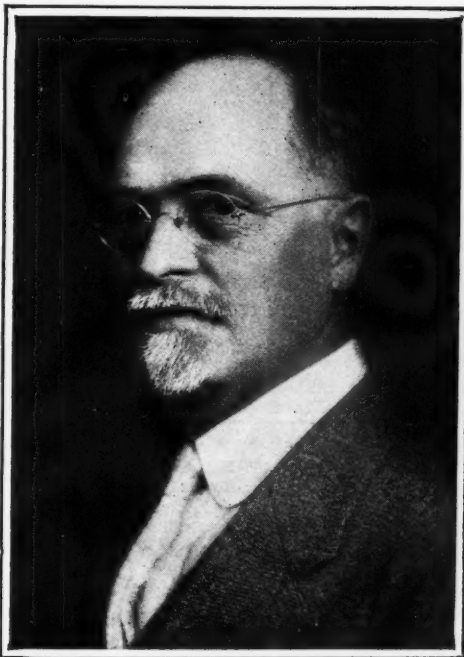
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**Dr. Butler
Defines
Issues**

On the Republican side of the fence, a discussion that had been going on behind the scenes was brought into the open by a remarkably lucid and definite statement made by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, on February 7. Dr. Butler had not sought a conspicuous occasion, his remarks having been addressed to his friends in a local gathering of Republicans in the up-town district of New York where he resides. But his speech was reported from one coast to the other, and was made even more a topic of debate than that of Mr. McAdoo had been. Dr. Butler holds that prohibition is a ghastly failure, and that the next election is going to be determined by New York State's block of presidential electors. This means, in Dr. Butler's view, that a platform must be adopted favoring a change in the prohibition policy of the country, and that a nominee must be found whose views are consistent with the platform. Dr. Butler hates the undignified current use of the words "wet" and "dry," and we dislike them as much as he does; but we are obliged to use them because they save so much space and extra printing expense. He holds, then, that the prohibition issue cannot be evaded and must be met squarely.

**The "Wet"
and "Dry"
Issue**

He abominates the saloon system as it formerly existed, and has never at any time in his life entertained any sympathy for the organized liquor interests as a force in politics and affairs. He recognizes the facts of a hazardous traffic, and would bring liquor for beverage purposes under an official control like that of the Province of Quebec. He regards the illicit traffic in alcoholic intoxicants as of such magnitude and of such harmful character in its social effects and consequences that it is far worse even than the old saloon system. He wishes to find a way that would at once destroy the existing prevalence of bootlegging, speakeasies, moonshining, and home-brewing, while also forever excluding the old saloon with all its bad accompaniments. Those prohibitionists who show a tendency to denounce Dr. Butler, as a man of less rigid moral standards than their own, will not really help the cause they advocate. That Dr. Butler's position is that of an intelligent and high-minded publicist it would be absurd to doubt. The issue must be discussed on its merits.

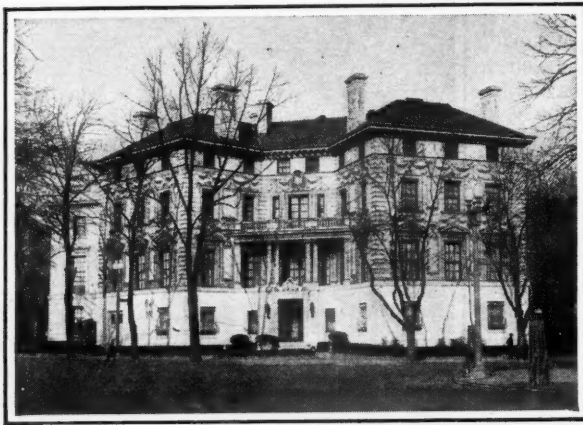


**PROFESSOR IRVING FISHER, OF YALE
UNIVERSITY**

(Who believes that "dry" laws can and should be enforced)

**Professor
Fisher's
View**

There is another side, however, to the whole subject, and another point of approach, which is perhaps best stated by Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University. Professor Fisher holds that tremendous social and economic values have already accrued from national prohibition, and he believes that it has not yet been fairly shown that the law cannot be fairly well enforced, at least outside of a few large cities. This also is the opinion of Henry Ford, and many large employers. There are, of course, two questions involved in the views expressed by Dr. Butler. First is the view that prohibition itself is a hopeless failure; that it is intrinsically wrong; and that it is in violation of the principles of our government, under which such matters belong to the States. The other question has to do with the present opinion of voters, and the relation of this sentiment to the campaign of 1928. Dr. Butler thinks that the logic of the situation would make both parties adopt wet platforms and choose wet candidates. He believes that, if one party champions the dry cause and the other opposes prohibition, the



WHERE THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. COOLIDGE WILL LIVE FOR SOME MONTHS WHILE THE WHITE HOUSE UNDERGOES EXTENSIVE REPAIRS

(This home in the Dupont Circle section of Washington is owned by Mrs. Elmer Schlesinger, a sister of J. Medill Patterson, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, and a granddaughter of Joseph Medill, founder)

victory will turn upon the fact that New York, New Jersey, and this general Eastern region will cast overwhelming votes in favor of the wets. Many Western Republicans, among them Senator Borah, challenge this view and it will be tested.

Will Coolidge Run Again?

Another topic discussed in Dr. Butler's statement had to do with the question of President Coolidge's renomination. Dr. Butler says frankly that he does not believe that Mr. Coolidge will be, or that he ought to be, a candidate for another term. It has been widely assumed that the President would be renominated. President Harding's death compelled Vice-President Coolidge to exercise the presidential function during the remaining one year and seven months of the term. He was then elected President in his own right for a four-year term that will end on the fourth of March, 1929. He will have performed the duties of a President for about five and a half years. Dr. Butler says he will have served two terms, regardless of the precise length of the first of these two. Other men, disputing this view, are more technical in their discussion of the two-term tradition. All this may be a trifle embarrassing for President Coolidge, who has given no intimation to the public as to his own wishes or intentions. It may well be that he can exert more influence over Congress and the Republican politicians if it is supposed that he may have a long official

period yet before him. He will take his own time, and will choose an occasion that he thinks proper for allowing his views upon this question to be made unambiguous. Meanwhile he holds a strong place with his party and with the country, regardless of politics.

Farm Relief Again

One of the most difficult problems that Mr. Coolidge has had to deal with came to a focus in Congress when unanimous consent was reached in the Senate for a vote upon the McNary Farm Relief bill on Friday, February 11. It does not help a discussion of this kind to hold that some men in high public places are in sympathy with farmers,

and that others are out of sympathy with agricultural life and feeling. Agriculture has been in a depressed condition ever since it was victimized by the government policy that produced first inflation and then deflation, and that shockingly disturbed an equipoise that had been coming about by gradual processes of adjustment previous to 1917. The broad justification for some measure of national farm relief is to be found in the old-fashioned doctrines of repentance and restitution. The puzzling thing is, that careful thinkers are in disagreement about how the principles of the McNary bill would work in practice.

What of the McNary Measure?

Uncle Sam can well afford to put up the \$250,000,000 of a revolving fund that is asked for. He may properly encourage the proposed methods for storing certain surplus products, and issuing receipts against them, in order to avoid the widespread disaster that results from a violent break in market prices. But it is feared that in the long run the existing evil of overproduction might be rendered still greater, so that the McNary system would break down because it provides no method for guarding against the possible results of a further stimulated and enlarged production of the very staples that the bill seeks to protect. Measures of this kind must probably be regarded as temporary rather than permanent. In the long run, the individual states must adopt

broad programs to conserve their soils and to equalize conditions as between urban and rural elements of population. For the United States government to adopt measures that would encourage certain western states to prolong an unbalanced type of farming might, in the end, be as harmful to those western states as it would be disastrous to the eastern farm states whose balanced and permanent agriculture has been so terribly injured by western one-crop methods of competition. And yet, on the whole, we are for farm relief, and think highly of the western agricultural leaders.

**Strong
Support
in Congress**

The passage of the McNary-Haugen bill in the Senate on February 11 by a vote of forty-seven to thirty-nine found the West comparatively favorable and the East mostly unconvinced. The House immediately substituted this measure for the Haugen-Dickinson proposals, differing in some details; and on February 17 it passed the Senate bill by vote of 214 to 178. President Coolidge thus had the farm-relief plan in his hands for acceptance or rejection well before the end of the session. Friends of several measures had agreed to join in preventing filibusters. This made certain also the passage of the bill giving the branch banking privilege to national banks, and extending the charters of the Federal Reserve Banks. There are features in the bill that Mr. Coolidge has not liked, and he would have preferred the bill that Senator Curtis had offered, this so-called Curtis-Crisp bill having been voted down by fifty-four to thirty-two. Senator Curtis, however, with his colleague Senator Capper, voted for the McNary bill, the supporters of which are students of the subject in the entire country. Opinion had moved strongly towards this formerly unpopular project.

**If the President
Should
Take a Chance**

If President Coolidge should veto the McNary-Haugen bill, his action would not be due to sectional bias, but to particular features of the bill that he has felt to be undesirable. But it should not be forgotten that the bill had been studied carefully and approved by men quite as competent—whether as economists, constitutional lawyers, or men of practical affairs—as any of the opponents of the measure, in or out of government circles. If the President should choose to rely upon the judgment of such sound



THE SHERIFF IS ON THE JOB

From the *Herald Tribune* © (New York)

financiers as Vice-President Dawes, ex-Governor Lowden, and many others, and should think it well to waive his objections and sign the measure, there would be widespread gratification; and the instinctive opposition of Wall Street would have melted away within twenty-four hours. Other countries of late have been fairly venturesome in economic policy, and it would not hurt Uncle Sam to try something, even though novel, that is asked for by the most deserving element of the entire country. In short, the President might take a chance, and sign the bill.

**Democrats
Seeking a
Candidate**

Action upon this particular bill will not of course make or unmake the fortune of any possible presidential candidate. Mr. Lowden favors the bill, but his admirable qualifications for the presidency do not turn upon the details of that particular measure; and the same thing may be said of Mr. Dawes. The Republicans will not shape their ticket or their platform upon any single issue, although Dr. Butler thinks that they will, and so do some of the champions of farm relief. As for the Democrats, they are doubtless preparing for a fight to the finish on certain planks of the platform. In the South and West, the Democrats to a great extent believe



THE FIRST MEETING OF THE STATE CABINET CREATED BY GOVERNOR SMITH

(Reading from the Governor's left, around the table to his right, the cabinet members are: Robert Moses, Secretary of Department of State; Col. Frederick Stuart Greene, State Superintendent of Public Works; Sullivan W. Jones, State Architect; Joseph H. Wilson, Director of the Budget; M. Frank Loughman, Commissioner of Taxation and Finance; James A. Hamilton, Industrial Commissioner; Dr. Frederick W. Parsons, Commissioner of Mental Hygiene; Mrs. Charles Bennett Smith, President of the Civil Service Commission; Senator Ernest A. Cole, representing Dr. Frank P. Graves, Education Commissioner; Berne A. Pyrke, Commissioner of Agriculture and Markets; Charles H. Johnson, Charities Director; James J. Mahoney, Assistant Secretary to the Governor; Clement A. Munger, Stenographer; Dr. Matthias Nicoll, Jr., Health Commissioner; and George B. Graves, Assistant to the Governor)

that Tammany Hall and its affiliations, now dominating New York City and New York State, supported in Illinois by the Brennan machine and by like elements in New Jersey and elsewhere, propose to take political control of the country, relying upon the popularity of Governor Al Smith. How Democrats in certain communities feel about all this is worth testing by means of a newspaper referendum. Mr. John H. Perry, owner of newspapers at Jacksonville, Pensacola, and elsewhere, and of certain newspaper syndicate services, has undertaken a timely test of that character.

*Smith in
a Popular
Referendum*

The Jacksonville vote for some days in February showed McAdoo about four times as strong as Smith. The remarkable thing, however, was that an exceedingly large proportion of the total number of voters declared that they would not vote for Al Smith if he were nominated. In Pensacola, the McAdoo sentiment was considerable, though not so sweeping as in Jacksonville. But everywhere tests are revealing many Democrats who declare that they would not vote for Al Smith if he were the nominee of the party. A like test, conducted by the Reading (Pa.) *Times*, a newspaper also owned by Mr. Perry (in the famous Berks County region that has been Democratic for a hundred years and has been regarded also as wet) has shown

McAdoo twice as strong as Smith. There also, a large proportion of the participants in the ballot have declared that they would not vote for Smith if nominated. These local tests do not pretend to be final and conclusive; but they are remarkable as indicative of a present state of mind. In the first place, they show that Mr. McAdoo is stronger with the plain voters than with the party bosses and leaders. But the thing they show most clearly is, that the opposition to Al Smith, for reasons of principle rather than of personality, is widespread and deep-seated, and has only to be organized to make Smith's nomination as impossible in 1928 as it proved to be in 1924. Senator Reed leads as second choice, regardless of the prohibition question.

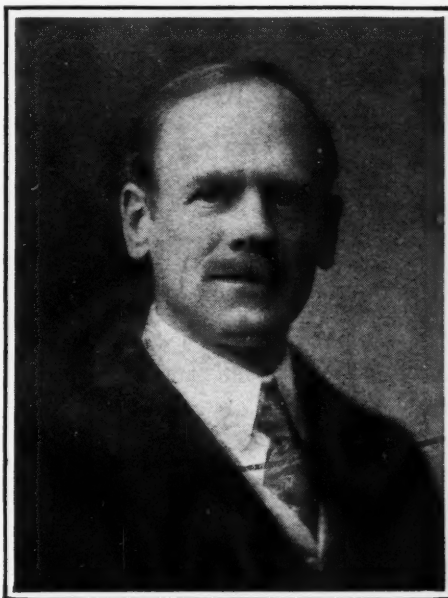
*The Governor
Busy at
Albany*

Governor Smith, meanwhile, has been devoting the winter to his exceptionally important responsibilities at Albany. As a result of a sweeping change in the constitutional structure of the State government, requiring the consolidation of many bureaus, commissions, and agencies, Governor Smith has had to take a leading part in effecting the practical transition. He is now fully at the center of the executive business of the State, and is supported by a Cabinet accountable directly to him. Everyone, regardless of party, is glad to acknowledge the ability and the public spirit with which

Governor Smith addresses himself to these radical changes in the structure of government for a State that includes the world's foremost metropolis, and that has a total population stretching from the Great Lakes to Montauk Point that now approaches twelve millions and increases steadily.

The President on Naval Reduction One of the subjects about which President Coolidge and the Sixty-ninth Congress had seemed to be in disagreement was that of provisions for the building of a series of fast cruisers of the so-called 10,000 ton class. The President had no objection to so-called "authorization" of the building program, but did not favor appropriating money or starting the work at the present time. His reasons were fully disclosed in the message that he sent to Congress on February 10. This message made public a memorandum that the President had sent to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. In this memorandum the President asked these four governments to "empower their delegates at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva to negotiate and conclude at an early date an agreement further limiting naval armaments, supplementing the Washington Treaty on that subject and covering classes of vessels not covered by that treaty." Readers will remember that we had proposed at the Washington Conference to limit the building of all classes of warships. The treaty as then made actually limited only the battleships and large cruisers, establishing the ratio of five-five-three for the United States, Great Britain, and Japan.

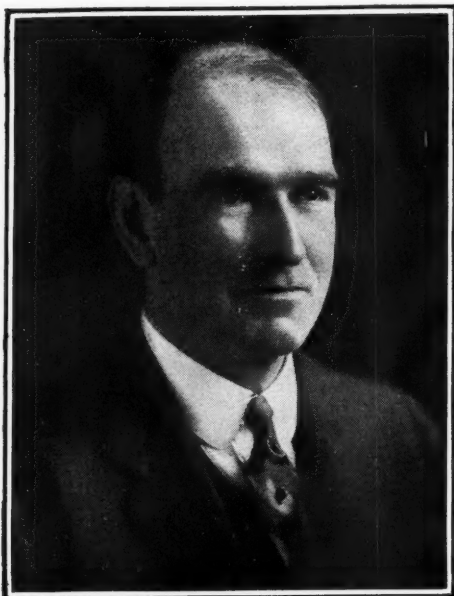
The French Position France and Italy could not afford to build new battleships, but they were not willing to be restricted as regards small cruisers, submarines, airplane carriers, destroyers and so on. Every one knows that the United States could afford to spend money on a program that would give us first rank in all these classes. As for other governments, it is not that they have thus far built such great numbers of ships of these kinds, but rather that they are now laying down programs that are leading inevitably and rapidly to a new period of unfortunate naval competition. President Coolidge states the matter clearly and frankly. He



MR. JOHN NOLEN, TOWN-PLANNER

regards the problems of land and air armament as distinct, and thinks that they should be dealt with by regional agreements. The press at home quite generally welcomed this proposal by the President, and word came at once that leading newspapers in Japan were supporting it, as also in Great Britain. But in France there was prompt official rejection. It will not be easy to secure agreements, but it is well to have American views thus presented. Furthermore, nothing will be lost by forbearance on our part; and some delay in the process of building the ships that our naval men, for reasons that they also express with due force, are unanimous in demanding.

Modernizing New York's Houses Among the many important questions now before the authorities of the State and City of New York, one of the most pressing is that of the provision of improved housing for large elements of the people, and of new and modern buildings for the wards of the State who are sheltered in institutions. Regardless of laws and regulations, however, there are vast improvements going on within and around the great metropolis and, in fact, throughout the State, that result from the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars annually in new construction. Favorable tax laws have aided.



DR. HAMILTON HOLT, PRESIDENT OF ROLLINS
COLLEGE IN FLORIDA

Town-Planners We have entered upon an era
Changing of so-called "zoning" and
America "planning," under which our towns and cities throughout the country are improved in the most astonishing fashion. Ever since the close of the Great War, industrial corporations have shown a wholly unwonted interest in the suitable housing of their employees; and the tendency in this direction, strong as it is, has evidently just begun to show results. We are publishing in this number a paper by Mr. John Nolen, the well-known landscape architect and consultant authority on the planning of new towns and the rearrangement of old ones. The present article describes the method of bringing into being a new industrial community in Tennessee, bearing the name of Kingsport. This striking achievement does not stand alone, but is typical of what is going on in many parts of the country. Some of the worst troubles in our coal mining districts might have been averted if the owners and operators of coal mines had possessed enough of what economists call "enlightened self-interest" to build for the miners well-appointed villages with gardens, schools, and central buildings, and with facilities for employment in other ways when the mines happen to be closed. Such im-

provements will come about, however, within a future not far distant.

*Pioneers
of
Planning*

It was George Washington who conceived of a model capital city in a new area arbitrarily chosen for a federal district, and who set the modern fashion of town planning. He was followed by Thomas Jefferson, who—in laying out the grounds and planning the buildings of the University of Virginia—was the first American to recognize the need of harmony and forethought in the physical provision for an institution that was to have permanence and growth. Architects and landscape authorities are now busy in every State creating beauty in parks and boulevards, and in architectural plans that consider harmony in the grouping and arrangement of buildings as well as beauty and fitness in a particular edifice.

*Australia's
New Federal
Capital*

Sometimes it is the backward region that gets the benefit of the newest ideas. Thus in many ways the Australians have been highly progressive, but it is only now that they have been prepared to tell the world about a new capital for what they call officially the "Commonwealth of Australia," which consists of the six States of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia, and Tasmania, with the immense unorganized area known as the Northern Territory. The new capital, bearing the name of Canberra, now becomes the seat of government on the date of May 9, 1927. The so-called "federal district" that has been set apart is on a generous plan and contains more than nine hundred square miles. The new town itself has been planned by a Chicago architect, and its present buildings, though regarded as temporary, are adequate and attractive. Sir Henry Lunn, who crossed the United States last year on his way around the world, spent some time in Australia; and a new volume from his pen, entitled "Around the World with a Dictaphone," gives the story of his observations. We are permitted to publish in this number an article on Canberra derived from material to be found in this new volume. The Duke and Duchess of York, as our readers will have learned from the newspapers, have gone to Australia to represent the King at the ceremonies that will mark the

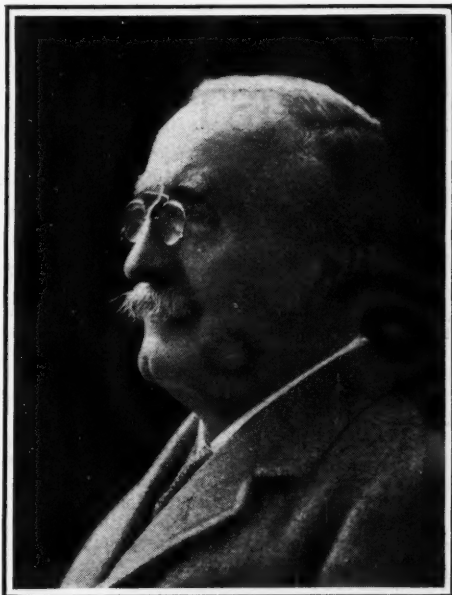
transfer of Australian government to the new federal city. Sir Henry Lunn, it may be observed, has been scheduled by the Institute of International Education to give a series of addresses in American universities and colleges, arriving late in February and speaking in all parts of the country. Visitors at once so well-informed and so friendly never wear out their welcome with American audiences.

*Florida's
Worthy
Ambitions*

In planning on modern lines for convenience and beauty, the people of Florida have evidently made up their minds to change the rank of their State (once at the foot of the column) to the very top. Florida contains a vast area, and the transformations that men now have in mind will require at least a century for their approximate realization; but the things done in the years since the Great War are impressive enough. The best developments were somewhat obscured for a while by the dust and the turmoil caused by an undesirable swarm of real estate speculators, who had no lot or part in the serious tasks of State-building. There were other people, easily discouraged, who thought that the advancement of Florida had been checked by a West Indian hurricane. But the State goes forward with no postponement of its fine program of new highways, bridges, railroads and public facilities. Along with its own peculiar advantages, Florida is sharing in a general movement that affects other States for the opening up of the resources of the coastal stretches of the lower South.

*Progress in
the Work of
Education*

A local event set for February 21 was the installation of Dr. Hamilton Holt as president of Rollins College, at Winter Park, Florida. The fact that until lately Florida has been backward in providing for higher institutions of learning does not discourage the present-day leaders, who are deliberately proposing that Florida shall respond fully to the very best ideals for the training of her young citizens. The State itself is atoning fully for its former lack of tax-supported institutions; and the voluntary colleges of private endowment are determined that Florida shall not be subject to the reproach that it provides outsiders with marvelous facilities for winter sport and pleasure, while neglecting the culture of its own young men and women.



SIR HENRY LUNN

*Museums
and Industrial
Exhibits*

The new Florida welcomes brains as well as capital, and utilizes ideas from California; the French Riviera; the architecture of the Spanish world; and the educational experience of New England, Virginia and the Northwest. To know how to learn from others is a chief secret of progress. It is easier to learn when facilities are assembled, and this is the reason for public museums. The products of the Spanish-speaking countries are to be given a convenient center through the purchase of a great building in New York. Other movements of like character are on foot. The British Empire has been learning these lessons, and one of the results has been the annual holding of the "British Industries Fair," which this year has opened simultaneously on February 21 in London and Birmingham. For the first time, the Dominions and Colonies are this year adequately represented as producers. "Britain's Shop Window" was the former phrase, but the "Empire's Market Place" is the new designation. In the Birmingham section, all sorts of mechanical industries are represented, including many Sheffield firms. In the London section, food-stuffs, clothing, sport goods, and chinaware are among the leading features. Our British friends simply refuse to be discouraged, and we may still learn many things from them.

THE GIST OF A MONTH'S NEWS

FROM JANUARY 15 TO FEBRUARY 15, 1927

THE WAR IN CHINA

January 16.—At Foochow, native mobs loot the Y. M. C. A. and two mission churches.

Belgium withdraws her plea to the World Court regarding Chinese abrogation of the Belgo-Chinese extraterritoriality treaty of 1865, and begins negotiating a new treaty of reciprocity.

January 21.—J. V. A. MacMurray, American Minister to China, is ordered to return to Peking.

January 24.—President Coolidge lets it be known that his policy in China is to protect American lives, and that American policy must differ from that of Britain, which holds concessions.

At Southampton, 1000 English marines embark for China (about 20,000 British troops, six cruisers, eight destroyers, fifteen gunboats and thirteen submarines are concentrating on China).

January 26.—Secretary of State Kellogg announces that the United States will not relinquish extraterritorial rights until China provides protection by law and courts to American citizens, their rights, and their property.

January 28.—Sir Miles W. Lampson, British Minister to China, broaches a new policy to Peking and Canton; he proposes that Great Britain return concessions to the Peking Government, grant tariff autonomy, and assume new tolerance toward Chinese nationalism.

February 3.—A regiment of American marines sails from San Diego, California, for Shanghai; 268 men start from the Philippines; three cruisers sail from Panama.

February 6.—Secretary Kellogg notifies China of the willingness of the United States to negotiate on the future status of Shanghai; but urges the Chinese factions not to involve the settlement area in their armed conflict.

February 7.—Marshal Sun Chuan-fang forces Cantonese troops back from Shanghai in a battle in which Chiuchow is captured.

February 14.—British negotiations with Canton break down; more British troops arrive.

THE MEXICAN CONTROVERSY

(See Also Proceedings in Congress)

January 19.—Thirty-one oil companies file injunction proceedings against President Calles' Government to prevent confiscation.

January 23.—Arbitration between the United States and Mexico is urged by 101 American college professors, who declare that the infringement of property rights of American citizens is clearly a justifiable question.

January 28.—The Transcontinental Oil Company seems to be the first foreign oil company in Mexico to secure a "definite amparo" (permanent injunc-

tion) from a District Court of the State of Vera Cruz against operation of the petroleum laws.

February 2.—The Mexican Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor issues an order permitting drilling to continue on oil lands where operations were begun before January 10.

February 3.—Mexican Attorney General Ortega orders restriction of private religious services to priests who have complied with Government religious regulations.

February 5.—Mexican import duties are raised 5 per cent. ad valorem, effective within thirty days.

February 10.—The Mexican Government reports the defeat of Catholic armed rebels.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 18.—The Senate fails, by six votes, to ratify the Lausanne treaty, a two-thirds vote being required; the tally is 50 to 34 in favor of ratification.

The House votes 66 to 22 to retain the present enlisted army strength at 118,750 men.

January 20.—The Senate votes 48 to 33 not to seat Frank L. Smith (Rep., Ill.)

In the House, the Army Appropriation bill is passed, providing \$457,000,000 for a standing army of 118,750 men.

January 21.—The House passes a deficiency appropriation bill carrying \$185,000,000, of which \$175,000,000 is for refunding illegally collected taxes; the measure goes to the Senate.

January 24.—In the Senate, an executive session rejects the nomination of Cyrus E. Woods of Pennsylvania for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Senate debates the Volstead act, Mr. Wadsworth (Rep., N. Y.) leading the wets, opposed by Mr. Heflin (Dem., Ala.), who says that there are "so few wet Senators you could get them into a taxicab"; Mr. Bruce (Dem., Ind.) makes the same statement about dry Senators.

January 25.—The Senate votes 77 to 0 in adopting a resolution of Mr. Robinson (Dem., Ark.) declaring arbitration to be a "sound policy"; investments by Americans in Mexico are estimated at \$1,389,061,000, of which \$318,063,000 is in oil land and \$166,047,063 in rural property.

January 26.—Senate and House conferees agree on a compromise radio bill providing Government control over all radio transmission for one year by a commission of five under Secretary Hoover; after a year, control will be administered by the Secretary of Commerce, who will refer all controversies to the standing commission.

January 29.—The House accepts the Dill-White radio bill conference report.

February 1.—The Senate, voting 49 to 27, approves an appropriation of \$1,200,000 to begin construction of three of eight scout cruisers authorized

in 1924; the navy bill is passed with an appropriation of \$320,000,000.

February 2.—The House Committee on Ways and Means votes down the Mellon-Andrews plan (16 to 8) for a Government-controlled corporation to manufacture and distribute medicinal whisky and regulate distribution of the existing supply.

February 3.—The Senate passes unanimously the modified Norris resolution asking Secretary Kellogg for detailed information concerning oil concessions in Mexico.

February 4.—The Senate, voting 46 to 33, adopts a resolution of Mr. Norris (Rep., Neb.), endorsing the use of tax surplus to reduction of public debt, thus blocking Democratic plans to reduce taxes.

In the Senate, the Lenroot-Taber bill is passed by vote of 51 to 27; it provides for strict sanitary regulation of milk imported from Canada.

February 5.—The Senate receives the Administration's request for a \$15,000 appropriation for delegates to a League conference on economics.

In the Senate, the Finance Committee reports the Alien Property Adjustment bill; 40 per cent. of the alien property seized by the United States during the World War would be retained to guarantee payment of American claims.

February 7.—The House, voting 293 to 83, appropriates an additional \$100,000,000 for constructing public buildings.

February 9.—The Senate votes 59 to 30 against a resolution to rescind approval of American membership in the World Court; but Britain and two other countries are reported to have refused to assent to American reservations.

February 11.—The Senate passes the McNary-Haugen Farm Relief bill by vote of 47 to 39; both Senate and House rejected the measure in May and June, 1926; it sets up a revolving fund of \$250,000,000 to hold crop surpluses in times of unfavorable market prices.

February 12.—The Senate puts the McFaddon-Pepper Branch Banking bill on the order of unfinished business by vote of 58 to 9.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 15.—The Tennessee Supreme Court upholds the law prohibiting teaching of evolution in State-supported schools, but reverses the conviction of John T. Scopes, high-school teacher, in 1925.

January 17.—The Supreme Court holds that Congress has a right to compel attendance of witnesses at hearings and cite recalcitrant witnesses for contempt; the decision is against Mal S. Daugherty, who failed to answer a Senate committee.

January 18.—Capt. Waldo Evans, former Governor of Samoa, is appointed Governor of the Virgin Islands, succeeding the late Capt. Martin E. Trench.

January 19.—Governor-General Leonard Wood reports on the Philippines for 1926, with a favorable trade balance of \$17,000,000, compared with a five-year average of \$15,400,000; insular government receipts were \$39,000,000, expenditures \$33,900,000.

January 22.—Lincoln Dixon (Dem., Ind.) is named to replace Henry H. Glassie on the Tariff Commission.

January 24.—The Shipping Board rejects all bids for charter of United States Lines, and purchase of American Merchant Lines, as inadequate.

January 28.—William G. McAdoo speaks at Toledo, Ohio, charging New York and Maryland with nullification of the prohibition law.

January 29.—The President makes his semi-annual budgetary speech to the Business Organization of the Government, declaring for preparedness without militarism.

January 31.—The New York Assembly adopts a resolution, 83 to 51, calling upon Congress to prohibit the use of poison in denaturing industrial alcohol.

February 1.—Under-Secretary Gerrard B. Winston retires from the Treasury Department and is succeeded by Ogden Mills of New York.

February 4.—The President selects the former Patterson Mansion, on Dupont Circle, as a temporary home for use while the White House roof is being repaired.

February 7.—Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler predicts that Mr. Coolidge will not run for a third term in 1928.

February 8.—Two members of the Texas House of Representatives are expelled for bribery.

Harry M. Daugherty and Thomas W. Miller are placed on trial at New York for conspiracy in connection with alien property seized during the war, this being the second trial, following a disagreed jury.

February 9.—The World War Foreign Debt Commission terminates automatically, having negotiated agreements covering payment of \$11,522,354,000 with thirteen countries.

February 10.—Police Commissioner McLaughlin reports a 20.9 per cent. decrease in assault and robbery in 1926 and 18 per cent. reduction in burglaries, due, in part to the Baumes laws.

February 12.—Governor W. J. Bulow vetoes the South Dakota legislature's bill to establish capital punishment.

February 15.—The New York legislature completes passage of the gubernatorial four-year term bill, which will have to be submitted on referendum; it also extends the term of State Senators from two to four years, and of Assemblymen from one to two years.

FOREIGN POLITICAL NOTES

January 28.—Dr. Wilhelm Marx, Centrist, forms a new German Cabinet, with four Junkers included.

January 29.—The Hungarian Parliament opens under the new democratic system but with medieval pomp and ceremony.

February 2.—A Socialist Labor group of Italian leaders issues a statement supporting Fascism and present harmony between capital and labor. These Socialists now pledge their aid in "founding an association for the cultural assistance of the working masses" as an element in the "process of self-determination."

February 3.—Lieut. Governor T. A. Burrows pledges the Bracken Government to a beer referendum at the opening of the Manitoba legislature.

At Oporto, in Portugal, a revolution occurs.

February 4.—The Viennese death rate is 40 per cent. more than the birth rate.

February 5.—The Reichstag expresses confidence in the new coalition Cabinet of Chancellor Marx; the vote is 235 to 174.

In Nicaragua the Liberals capture Chinandega, sixty miles northwest of Managua.

February 7.—The late Japanese Emperor Yoshihito is buried with ancient pomp and ceremonial rites; over 1,500,000 persons witness the funeral.

The Oporto revolution spreads throughout Portugal, with serious conditions in Lisbon.

February 8.—The British Parliament is opened.

February 10.—The Portuguese revolt is reported suppressed.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 15.—The treaty of conciliation and arbitration between Italy and Germany is published in full; it was signed at Rome, December 29.

January 17.—Premier Alexis Rykoff, of Soviet Russia, pledges in an address at Moscow that his Government "will not allow any interference in the internal or foreign policy of the United States."

The Peruvian Government rejects the American proposals that Tacna-Arica be sold to Bolivia (the solution had been accepted by Bolivia and by Chile in principle).

January 20.—President Coolidge, in receiving Señor Alejandro Cesar, new Nicaraguan Minister, disclaims selfish aims and says the United States has taken steps to compose differences, desiring freedom and prosperity for every Central American republic.

January 22.—Col. Ricciotti Garibaldi and sixteen other defendants are convicted at Paris of plotting on French territory against a foreign government (Italy) in an anti-Fascist conspiracy.

January 26.—The League Committee of International Journalists at Geneva submits a report recommending that all Governments extend to accredited foreign journalists the same privileges that the national journalists enjoy.

January 28.—Ricardo Alfaro is ordered by the Panama Government to proceed to Washington to reopen treaty negotiations, the National Assembly of Panama having suspended discussion on the treaty now up for ratification.

February 3.—William Phillips is appointed as first American Minister to Canada; he is from Massachusetts, and is serving at Brussels as Ambassador.

The Argentine Government announces that Robert Woods Bliss (now United States Minister to Sweden) is persona grata as American Ambassador to succeed Peter Augustus Jay, resigned.

Frederick A. Sterling is promoted from Counselor to the United States Embassy at London to the post of first Minister to the Irish Free State.

February 9.—Negotiations over the future status of Tangier are begun at Paris by representatives of Spain, France, Britain, and Italy.

February 10.—President Coolidge submits identical memoranda to Britain, France, Japan and Italy, suggesting extension of the 5-5-3 ratios, adopted for capital ships at the Washington Conference, to auxiliary war vessels and the separation of air and land armament from discussion of fleet reduction.

POINTS OF ECONOMIC INTEREST

January 19.—S. W. Straus, New York banker, warns against excessive building operations.

Henry Ford opens his Highland Park plant with a new service, which applies production methods to rebuilding second-hand cars.

January 20.—Total life insurance sold in America in 1926 aggregated \$16,400,000,000, exceeding 1925 by \$900,000,000, or 6 per cent.; total outstanding life insurance in American companies is \$80,000,000,000.

February 5.—At New York, a pay increase for Eastern railway men is agreed to, amounting to \$5,000,000, or 7½ per cent., on fifty-nine railroads.

The United States State Department announces a plan for stabilizing the exchange rate with Germany upon receipt of reparation payments.

February 7-8.—Wheeling and Lake Erie, and Western Maryland railroad stocks form a focus for stock-market flurries and rumors that control has passed to New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio, and the Nickel Plate roads.

February 8.—The Federal Board of Mediation announces a 7½ per cent. increase in wages of trainmen on Southern railroads.

February 13.—The Federal Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Council, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis join in reporting on a six months joint study of the lockout of enginemen on the Western Maryland Railroad.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 15.—The United States Army Pan-American airplane squadron reaches Punta Arenas, Costa Rica.

January 16.—George Young, of Toronto, aged seventeen, swims the San Pedro Channel in California, from Catalina Isthmus to Point Vicente, in 15 hours, 44 minutes, and 33 seconds; he wins a prize of \$25,000 offered by William Wrigley, Jr.

January 20.—Dr. Michael Haberlandt, of Innsbruck University, Vienna, discovers a hormone that, when administered with food, results in sterility.

Hamid Bey, an Egyptian fakir, is buried alive for three hours to prove that life can be sustained under adverse conditions by self-willed catalepsy where shallow breathing would fail; an assistant watches constantly above ground.

January 21.—The opera "Faust" is sung over the radio by the Chicago Civic Opera Company to millions of listeners-in; the broadcasting is done through twenty-five radio stations.

January 23.—Byron Bancroft Johnson is removed as president of the American League.

January 24.—In Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri and Texas severe floods, rains, and sleet damage much property and cut off communication.

January 27.—Tyrus Raymond Cobb and Tristram Speaker are exonerated of all charges of "fixing" baseball games by Kenesaw M. Landis.

January 30.—Drs. Guy W. Clark and Paul W. Sharp of the University of California announce that a substance called oocytin starts life process in the sea urchin eggs and produces new individuals.

Dr. Robert Ball Burke completes translation into English of Roger Bacon's "Opus Majus."

February 3.—The Southern Women's Educational Alliance holds at New York a three-day session on problems of the rural girl.

February 5.—At New York, it is reported that deaths from alcoholism alone (excluding those where alcohol played a contributing part) increased from 621 in 1910 to 741 in 1926; no pure whisky is available for medicinal use.

February 7.—The Bishops' proposals for revision of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England are published; among other things the word "obey" is dropped from the marriage service.

Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick publicly advocates the confessional for Protestants; he is a Baptist and has held a pastorate in the Presbyterian Church.

February 9.—At New York, three Broadway shows are raided and thirty-nine players are arrested under a law forbidding indecent performances.

A fire at the Brooklyn Navy Yard causes \$1,500,000 loss in wooden storehouses.

February 11.—At Yale University, a National Conference on the Theater is held by church, amateur, and professional theater interests.

The New York Telegram is sold to the Scripps-Howard syndicate.

February 12.—Harvard students row with Cambridge police, about 1000 being involved; forty-one are arrested.

Drs. G. Beit and M. A. Tuve of Carnegie Institution announce definite proof that there is a radio "ceiling," or atmospheric envelope, varying from 50 to 150 miles in height, which reflects radio waves and prevents their passage into space.

Leonhard Seppala, of Alaska, wins the New England dog sled race at Wolfeboro, N. H., covering 133 miles in 11 hrs., 57 min., 45 sec., in a thrilling race with Francois Dupuis, of Quebec, and Emil St. Goddard, of Manitoba.

February 13.—Sir Esme Howard presents a silver alms dish to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine at New York, as a gift from King George V of England.

February 14.—La Paz, Bolivia, extends a formal welcome to American army fliers.

OBITUARY

January 15.—David Rowland Francis, formerly United States Ambassador to Russia, Secretary of Interior, and Governor of Missouri, 76.

January 16.—Prof. Fred Parker Emery, of Dartmouth, 57. . . . Bruce Edwards, theater manager, 55. . . . Hovan Tsvitch, noted Jugoslavian geographer. . . . Theodore Durst, French historian, 88.

January 17.—Mrs. Juliette Low, of Georgia, founder of Girl Scouts of America, 66. . . . Viscount Bearsted (Marcus Samuel), British oil leader, 73.

January 18.—Lee Kohns, New York merchant and philanthropist, 62. . . . Dr. Leonce Pierre Manouvrier, noted French anthropologist, 76.

January 19.—Princess Charlotte of Belgium, former Empress of Mexico, 86.

January 20.—George Ehret, brewer and philanthropist, 91.

January 22.—Edward Page Mitchell, former editor of *The Sun*, 74. . . . James Ford Rhodes, historian, 78. . . . Gen. Sir Charles Warren, British soldier and archeologist, 86. . . . Carlos Larrain Claro, Chilean diplomat.

January 23.—Brig.-Gen. John McCausland, West Virginia Confederate leader, 90. . . . Prof. Charles C. Nutting, of the Iowa State University, 68.

January 24.—Francois Eugene Turpin, French inventor of high explosive, 78.

January 25.—Prof. Paul Lapie, rector of University of Paris.

January 26.—Lyman Judson Gage, former Secretary of Treasury and California banker, 90. . . . Vice Chancellor John Griffin, New Jersey jurist, 68. . . . Arthur Newton, astronomer 59. . . . Edwin Theodore Dumble, Texas geologist, 74.

January 28.—Sylvester Baxter, Boston publicist, 76. . . . John Adams Aiken, former Chief Justice of Massachusetts Superior Court, 77.

January 29.—Walter Channing Wyman, archeologist, 76.

January 30.—Dr. George Byron Gordon, noted Philadelphia archeologist, 56. . . . Simeon Eben Baldwin, former Connecticut Governor, author, 86. . . . Clifford Robert Pettis, reforestation expert, 53.

February 1.—Rev. James V. Chalmers, Episcopal prohibitionist, 79. . . . Col. John W. McCullough, Kentucky distiller, 67. . . . General Sir George Wentworth Alexander Higginson, British militarist, 100.

February 2.—Clarence Ludlow Brownell, author and educator, 63. . . . Prof. Emile F. Pernot, Oregon bacteriologist, 68.

February 3.—Justice Walter Husted Jaycox of the New York Appellate Division, Supreme Court, 63.

February 4.—William Elliott Knox, banker, 64. . . . Guy Lowell, Massachusetts architect, 56.

February 6.—Charles Deering, Chicago capitalist, 75. . . . Osorio Duque Estrada, author of Brazilian national hymn.

February 7.—Charles Beatty Alexander, noted lawyer, 77.

February 9.—Dr. Charles Doolittle Walcott, head of Smithsonian Institution, geologist, 77. . . . Sir James Kennal, London electric power pioneer, 62.

February 10.—Hon. James Kidd Flemming, former Premier of New Brunswick, 58.

February 12.—Frank Tousey Williams, Union News Company executive, 44. . . . Col. Ambrose E. B. Stephens, Congressman from Second Ohio District, 64.

February 13.—Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, D.D., noted Episcopal liberal, 67. . . . Col. Charles De Lano Hine, expert in railroad organization, 59. . . . Brooks Adams, Boston lawyer and author, 78.

February 14.—Col. William Coffin, U. S. Consul-General at Berlin, 49. . . . Prof. Lucy Maynard Salmon, of Vassar College, 76. . . . Oliver Dennett Grover, artist, 65.

AS EUROPE SEES UNCLE SAM

CURRENT TOPICS IN THE MONTH'S CARTOONS



THE STRANGER

UNCLE SAM: "Who are you, and what do you want?"
PEACE: "You talk so much about me, and yet know me not in your own land!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



IN A PROHIBITION COUNTRY!

From *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)

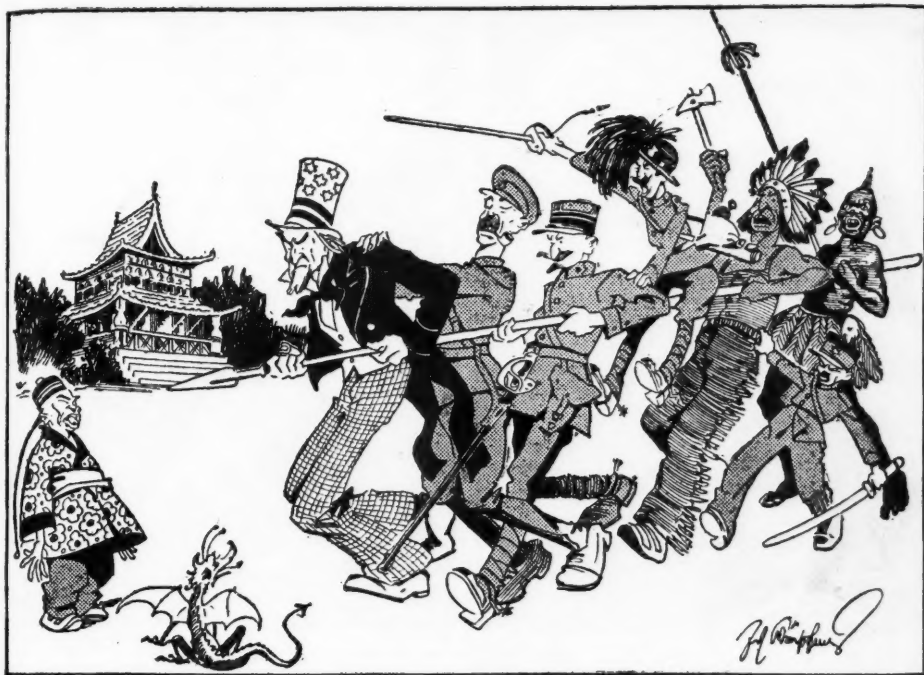
[The bottle contains Spirit of Conquest]



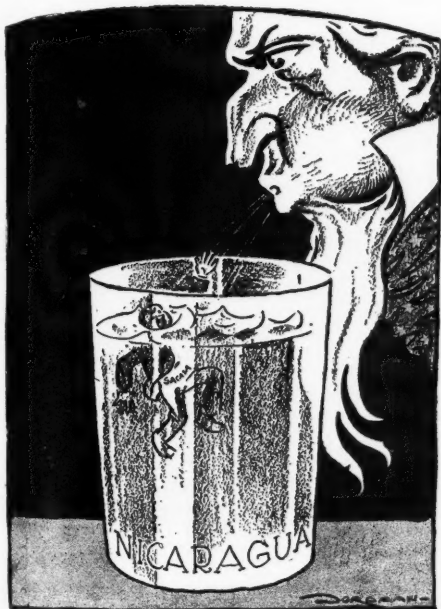
THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

From *L'Humanité* (Paris, France)

[Organ of the Communist Party]



"YOU GO FIRST, JONATHAN, YOU ARE NEAREST!"
From Kikeriki (Vienna, Austria)



A TEMPEST IN A GLASS OF WATER
From De Groene Amsterdammer (Amsterdam, Holland)



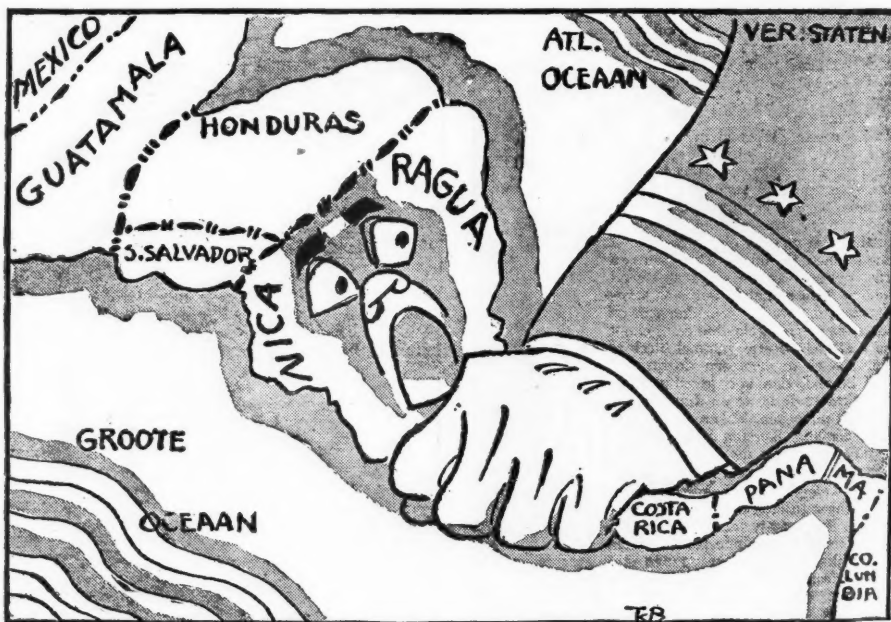
MY HOUSE IS MY CASTLE
From Kikeriki (Vienna, Austria)



THE NICARAGUAN EEL

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

The German periodical explains for its readers that Latin America's protests make it seem that America is about to retreat



ANTI-WILSONISM IN AMERICA

Nicaragua protests against the strangle-hold of the North American navy

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam Holland)

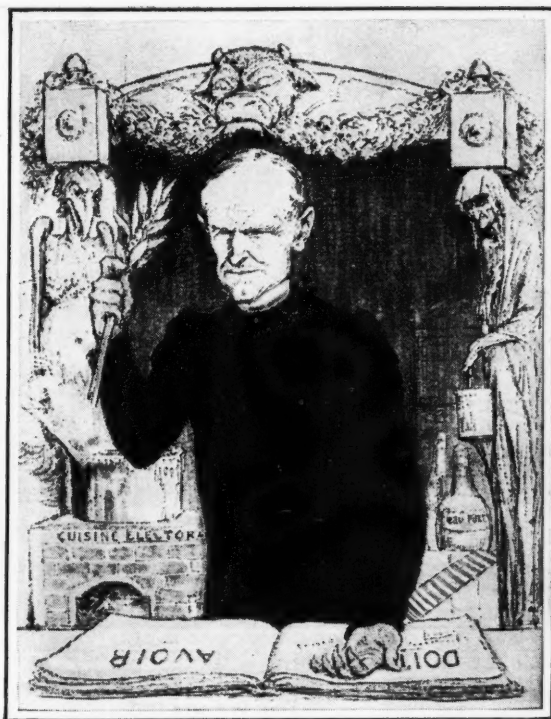
A STRIKING, FRENCH CARTOON ON PRESI- DENT COOLIDGE AND HIS DOCTRINES

COOLIDGE'S EPISTLE TO THE PARISIANS

"To expose some men to the perils of the battlefield while others are left to reap large gains from the distress of their country is not in harmony with our ideal of equality."—President Coolidge in his Kansas City Memorial Address, on Armistice Day, 1926.

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

[Caricatures of President Coolidge in the European press are not common, as it is too easy for the foreign artist to draw Uncle Sam to represent America. Roosevelt and Wilson became familiar figures in the hands of Europe's cartoonists; Taft and Harding did not. Now Coolidge, after nearly four years in the White House, becomes recognizable. This cartoon appeared on the cover of the principal French cartoon journal]



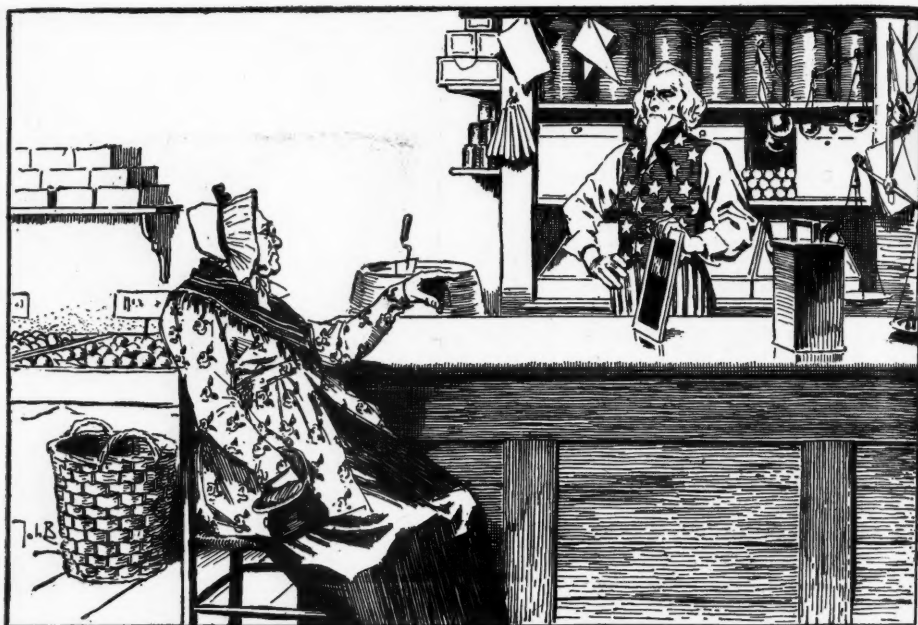
A VIGOROUS GERMAN CARTOON ON UNCLE SAM'S POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA

HE BEATS THE SACK, BUT MEANS IT FOR THE DONKEY

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

[As might perhaps have been expected, there is no current foreign cartoon which upholds American policy in the Caribbean, though there are plenty which criticize and condemn. On these two facing pages we reproduce three cartoons showing Nicaragua being swallowed, strangled, and belabored. There are similar ones on the following page, also. Can there be any good thing come out of America? The European press, at the present time, evidently believes there can not. That Uncle Sam is moved by anything except selfish and imperialistic designs is not currently believed by observers on the other side of the Atlantic—if we may assume that cartoons express prevailing points of view]





AMERICA AND EUROPE

EUROPE: "If you want to keep me as a customer you will have to wipe some of that off"

From *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



UNDER THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

From *Garm* (Helsingfors, Finland)

[At the risk of wearying the reader we reproduce this month one more European cartoon showing an Uncle Sam over-burdened with money and ruthless in his treatment of others. But this cartoon is from a different source; American readers do not often see Finnish cartoons. With that apology we add this to the collection that we have exhibited here during the past year or more]



FAR, FAR AWAY

From the *Evening News* (London, England)

[When wireless telephone service across the Atlantic was begun, in January, a news item of interest in Britain was the United States Treasury statement of a surplus]



YOUR HAT AND COAT, SIR!

From the Times (New York)

[Dr. Butler says that Coolidge will not be a candidate]



WILL IT SCARE THE PRESIDENT?

From the Star (Seattle, Wash.)



THE PRESIDENTIAL BEE BUZZES AROUND A MISSOURI SENATOR

From the Evening Star (Washington, D. C.)



PULLING HIMSELF TOGETHER

From the Oregon Journal (Portland, Ore.)



IT'S A WONDER THAT THE PRESIDENT CAN BE SO PATIENT

From the Evening Dispatch (Columbus, Ohio)



ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL

From the *Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia, Pa.)

MUD PIES

From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)

Scandals of one kind or another fill the newspapers more and more in this changing world. It was therefore a relief to have Judge Landis dispel the latest charges of crooked playing in games of professional baseball. But pitiless publicity in the

press for divorce details, and lowering standards on the stage, leave much to be hoped for in those directions by way of improvement. Censorship of books and of the theatre is once more under discussion, particularly in New York.



A LITTLE TOO BIG NOW, BUT HE WILL GROW UP TO THEM

From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)

SO LONG AS THEY DON'T TRY TO DUMP IT OUT OUR WAY

From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

DIVORCE PUBLICITY HERE AND ABROAD

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

DURING the closing days of 1926 the British Parliament passed, in its concluding hours, an act to restrict the reporting of proceedings in divorce litigation. Considering that it significantly restricts the freedom of the press in certain directions, and as it was passed with strikingly little opposition and promptly received the royal assent, the measure is one of peculiar interest. Moreover, it seems likely to have repercussions on this side, for very soon afterwards a quite similar bill was introduced in the New York State legislature. The fate of the Albany measure is, at the time of writing, yet undetermined; but it has mustered an impressive measure of support.

Sanitation—not Mere Restriction—the Aim

For a long time there has been in both this country and England a rising tide of protest against the extremes to which a section of the press of both countries has gone in publishing details of testimony in litigations of this kind. This protest has not represented what could be fairly regarded as an assault on the freedom of the press. Indeed a good many editors and publishers in both countries have been sympathetic with the demand for such laws. The extremes to which a certain class of papers on both sides have gone in printing this kind of matter have aroused a strong feeling that there are possibilities of overdoing it.

That liberty of the press which, within the bounds of decency, is so highly prized in both countries, is in no wise threatened, if we may give full credence to the assurances of persons who insist that it is rather sanitation than restriction that they favor. But the very idea of censorship or of official regulation inevitably gives concern to persons who are fearful of an entering wedge being driven. A difficult problem has been presented owing to the excesses which it is felt have marked the conduct of some papers. These papers have discovered that

in every great city there is an enormous reading public that quickly becomes addicted to the habit of reading this kind of literature. Frank and deliberate catering to such tastes has been carried so far in England that some papers have fairly become recognized as the organs of this kind of indecency.

The Tabloids British in Conception

On the whole it is probably fair to say that until quite recent years American standards were higher, for at least there was less tendency here to make filth an avowed and well-nigh exclusive business. But the invasion of the American newspaper field, especially in New York City, by the tabloid papers, which were originally a British invention, has brought the same problem to this country. Casting about for a field in which they could hope to cultivate big circulation, tabloid managers fell upon precisely the same general areas that the British penny dreadfuls had found so fruitful. Results on both sides were such as to confirm the judgment that human nature is pretty much alike wherever it is studied.

The first tabloid in New York, the *Daily News*, acquired in an astonishingly short time the largest circulation in the metropolis. The field was so alluring that two more papers of the same class, the *Mirror* and the *Graphic*, were shortly brought out. Competition among the tabloids became intense; new types and methods of administering shock were constantly in demand; the pressure became almost daily and visibly more insistent. In the early stages of the competition, disinterested spectators who sat on the sidelines and studied the phenomenon found a good deal of amusement in these antics. But after a while it came to be realized that when a group of papers of this type could find market for something like 2,000,000 copies a day, it was time for serious people to concern themselves about the

influence that must be exerted through such an immense distribution of this kind of reading matter.

New York's Tabloids Outdo Those of London

And no wonder. If the Americans had been slow to break into this particular field, they showed no hesitance, once in, about applying all the newest devices and appeals that ingenuity and originality could produce. The Britishers had been content, in general, to serve their dirt without garnishes. They took shorthand reports of testimony, and printed verbatim the raciest and least decent parts. That was bad enough; but the Americans brought to bear all their genius for attractive typography, astonishing "art" effects, fetching layouts of combined pictures and type. They made pictures the essential feature. Diagrams, graphs, portraits, every sort of illumination that could possibly strengthen the eye appeal, were pressed into service. Somebody expressed wonderment that there were so many people in New York who could not read, and therefore found these papers precisely fitted to their purpose. For sheer audacity the tabloid headline writers developed a technique that made the utmost achievements of the old-time yellow journals lame, hesitant and conservative by contrast. To scream most raucously out of six-inch headlines at the dazed and semi-comatose victim whose two cents were sought, was the ultimate end of every program in selecting and presenting the so-called news.

Moral Influence Admittedly Bad

Crime, scandal and freakishness of course served best the purpose of such a journalism, and so the tabloids became the purveyors of that intellectual diet.

Inevitably, the question of the effect of such reading matter, so widely distributed, on public morals, soon forced itself upon attention. There has been a good deal of testimony from two widely separated classes of observers, substantially agreeing that the effects had been bad. Teachers and school officers have noted a bad influence on the young; while police authorities and others concerned with maintaining public order have warned that tendencies to moral laxity and downright criminality were being fostered. Whether the young people of these times are less devoted to commendable moral standards than they used to be, is discussed with much zest, and both sides of the

argument are very earnest in maintaining their diametrically opposite theses. Maybe, as some insist, youth nowadays has just as good morals as ever, but less of illusion and insincerity. Maybe, also, the "crime wave" may be attributed to a general breaking down of ideals following the war; maybe, prohibition has had something to do with it; and, maybe, finally, the crime wave is only imaginary anyhow. Whichever of these views one may incline to favor, the fact remains that the whole subject is under animated discussion, and that the publication of so much crime and scandal "news" has been widely regarded as a potent contributing factor.

England Limits Reports of Divorce Cases

The new British law forbids publication, in reports of judicial proceedings, of any indecent matter or medical, surgical, or physiological details calculated to injure the public morals or otherwise "be to the public mischief." In divorce trials reports may include only the names, addresses and description of the parties and witnesses; the ground on which the proceedings are brought and resisted as set forth in the petition and answers and particulars thereof; submissions on any points of law arising in the course of the proceedings and the decisions of the court thereon. Penalties for exceeding these limitations upon the reports include both fines and imprisonment. An effort was made during the consideration of the bill to include in it a clause providing:

The proprietor of any newspaper shall not be liable to be convicted under this act if it is shown to the satisfaction of the courts before which he is charged that the publication referred to in the charge was made without his knowledge, authority, or consent.

This was voted down after some discussion on the general ground that the proprietor must be held responsible for the general policy which would determine the course of the paper in a specific case. It is provided that no prosecution can be instituted except under affirmative orders from the Attorney General.

It is suggestive of the state of British opinion, that this was a private member's bill, as distinguished from a measure initiated by the Government; and that it was passed by the Commons in amazingly short order after it was reached, the third reading carrying by a vote of 133 to 30. Immediately afterward it was taken up in the

House of Lords, and passed through all its stages at a single sitting. For this somewhat remarkable procedure the explanation was that the bill had had "the almost unanimous assent of the House of Commons." There was some little grumbling, but only one Peer, Lord Parmoor, recorded himself as a thick-and-thin opponent, declaring that publicity was the best safeguard against abuses.

*Persons of Wealth and High Position
Sufferers from Publicity*

Undoubtedly one reason why some British newspapers have been such persistent offenders in handling this kind of matter is that British libel and slander laws are exceedingly rigorous, and their enforcement against offending publishers has been unrelenting. So, whenever the British editor came upon a mine of sprightly scandal that he was privileged to print, and that he knew the public would devour, there was inevitably an urge to print.

Along with this was the fact that divorce litigations afforded the easiest opportunity for an intimate view of the mode of life among people of wealth and high position. The vast majority of plain people are always enormously curious about how the fortunate minority live, and the searching details of examination and cross-examination in divorces were precisely calculated to gratify this appetite. So the greatest sufferers by reason of publicity were persons whose positions were high enough to make them objects of this particular interest.

*French Law Against Publicity Long Preceded
British*

In France the attitude toward publicity in divorce cases has for many years, until now, been just the reverse of the British. For nearly seventy years, down to 1884, there was no legal provision in France for divorce on any ground. Then in 1884 a divorce law was passed which permitted divorce on a variety of grounds, some of which are not accepted by American or British law. But while the French in one view are more lenient about divorces, their system nevertheless embraces a very definite recognition of the claims of the family and the children. The courts are required to make every effort, by a process of judicial mediation, to reconcile the parties, and to conserve the interests of the defendant, even though the defendant is not present in court.

Very soon after the divorce statute of 1884 was passed this same question of a tendency toward extremes in publicity developed, and the French dealt with it promptly and vigorously. In 1886 they passed a law providing:

The reproduction through the press of what takes place at the trial in action for divorce is forbidden under penalty of a fine of from one hundred to two thousand francs provided for by Article 39 of the law of July 30, 1881.

The law of July 30, 1881, is the law on the freedom of the press, enacting penalties for the publication of certain matters. It includes the following provision:

In any civil case the court of appeal and the trial courts may forbid the reporting of the case, as also the trial of cases involving the determination of the paternity of a child.

Thus it will be observed that the new English law is strikingly similar to the French legislation; and the proposed legislation in New York follows the same line.

American Divorces in France Increase

Even under the benign influence of so liberal a statute, the French courts did not become alarming competitors for the American divorce custom until quite recent times, when these assurances against publicity were reinforced by the low cost of living in France due to the fall of the franc. Time was when Americans went to Sioux Falls and later to Reno for quick divorces. But in these cases there were no such safeguards against publicity as the French law affords. So in recent years Americans have been going in increasing number to Paris, where last year nearly 300 American couples were divorced. Less than half the names of the parties were made public. Out in the French Provinces complete secrecy can be almost guaranteed; and, moreover, it is cheaper to live in the Provinces, while acquiring a legal residence, than in Paris. So the number of American divorces, both in Paris and the Provinces, continues steadily to increase. A new record was set in 1926, with every prospect that it will be broken in 1927; and the chief inducement is the French law against publicity.

British Divorce as Related to Publicity

There is an intimate relationship between this publicity question and the divorce problem per se. In England down to 1857 divorces must be had from the Ecclesiastical Court, whose prejudice against them was so

violent that the petitioners stood a poor show; or by Act of Parliament, which was so expensive that most people could not afford it. How tortuous and costly was the process of divorce under the old order is illustrated by the classic case of a man whose wife had deserted him with her paramour. The man ultimately married again; but, his wife being still alive, he was indicted for bigamy and convicted. In sentencing him, the court said:

You have been convicted of bigamy, of marrying a woman while you had a wife still alive, though it is true she has deserted you and is living in adultery with another man. You have, therefore, committed a crime against the laws of your country, and you have also acted under a very serious misapprehension of the course you ought to have pursued. You should have gone to the Ecclesiastical Court and obtained a decree *a mensa et thoro* (from bed and board). You should then have brought an action in the courts of common law and recovered, as no doubt you would have recovered, damages against your wife's paramour. Armed with these decrees, you should have approached the legislature and obtained an act of Parliament which would have rendered you free and legally competent to marry the person whom you have taken on yourself to marry with no such sanction. It is quite true that these proceedings would have cost you many hundreds of pounds, whereas you probably have not as many pence. But the law knows no distinction between the rich and poor. The sentence of the court therefore is that you be imprisoned for one day, which period has already been exceeded, as you have been in custody since the commencement of the assizes.

That Solomonic judgment was too much for the British sense of humor. Everybody agreed that something must be done to make it easier for poor people to get divorces. So finally the Divorce Act of 1857 was passed.

"The Masses and the Classes"

The law of 1857 transferred jurisdiction to the Divorce Court, a civil tribunal. Persistent effort has been made to restrict the reporting of proceedings, but it has always failed until now. Unrestricted and frequently wanton publicity bore hard on folks with titles, social importance, or political eminence. They were of course the shining marks for big publicity. Nobody could be expected to devour a couple of pages of the marital woes of a costermonger and a fishwife; but let a duke and duchess, or a cabinet member and his lady, take their domestic woes out for air, and they were in for a bad time. So it came about that divorce, once the luxury of the rich and important minority, at length became one of the few high privileges of the poor and lowly.

With the rise of democratic sentiment in England, it came to be seen that this was a discrimination against the little group of wealthy and highly placed people. Englishmen realized that the rich ought to have some rights besides paying the taxes. So an effort was launched to mitigate the horrors of divorce proceedings by limiting their publicity. The measure was by some cynics described as a bill for an act to enable prominent people to get painless divorces. But the theory was evolved that distressing publicity of prurient details was bad for the public morals. The "Splendid English Yeomanry," which if it lived in this country would be referred to as "the bone and sinew of the republic," must not thus be contaminated.

The S. E. Y. was discouragingly unimpressed by the prospect of moral benefit. Seemingly it did not care particularly for this form of quarantine, and so the legislation got on slowly. But at last it has passed, and now there are beginning to be some hopeful anticipations that under the new régime the British divorce court will more successfully compete, in the American millionaire market, with the easy, confidential, and efficacious processes of the French.

Divorce on the Increase Everywhere

The subject of this article is not divorce, but whether proceedings in divorce cases should be permitted to be published. The two problems of course are intimately related. The increase of divorce in nearly all civilized countries has become a social phenomenon of the greatest interest. The Department of Commerce finds that in 1924, the most recent year for which it has published figures, there were in this country 170,867 divorces, or one to every 6.9 marriages. In 1905 there were only 68,000 divorces. Among other countries whose statistics are available, Japan comes nearest the United States, with one divorce to every 8 marriages. France had one divorce to 21 marriages; Germany, one to 24; Switzerland one to 16; Norway, one to 30; Great Britain, one to 96; Canada, one to 161.

Some of the American States have astonishing records. Thus Nevada, in 1924, had 1,097 marriages and 1,037 divorces. Of course, this merely means that a great many people go to Nevada to be divorced, but few go there to be married. South Dakota had 611 divorces to 6401 marriages; North

Dakota, 377 divorces, to 3707 marriages; New York, 4622 divorces, to 106,312 marriages. In view of such figures it is not surprising that both the divorce problem and the question of unrestricted publication of divorce proceedings should be commanding widespread consideration.

The new English law against publicity reflects a popular sentiment that is apparent in the United States. A good many people with normally stout stomachs have been disgusted at the enormous publicity lately given to cases like those of the Rhinelanders, the Peaches-Heenan-Brownings, the Charley Chaplins, and sundry others. They have inclined to doubt whether sheer nastiness was a quite sufficient excuse for extending excessive liberties to the press.

Government as Censor of Personal Conduct

The degree of efficacy that attends squeamishness when crystallized into a broad public policy is debatable. The danger of over-doing our delicacies in these matters is nicely illustrated by the silly ruling of the Department of Labor that the Countess Cathcart must not pollute our shores because she had been guilty of a crime "involving moral turpitude;" to wit, had been divorced by her husband on the ground that she had committed adultery. If that monumental ruling had not been made, the Countess's indiscretion would probably never have been mentioned, and all our finer sensibilities, which were so wrought upon by the necessity of reading about it, would have been spared. To the credit of that same press which is presumed to offend us with such a surfeit of divorce testimony, must be placed the fact that it kicked up such a row that the ruling was finally overturned. The ruction had a good ultimate effect, for it called down a deal of merited satirical comment.

What Does the Press Itself Think?

The attitude of the press about this sort of publicity is interesting. The papers, it seems fair to say, can be divided into two groups; those which print all the filth but make an editorial wry face while doing it; and those which just print it. Formerly they could have been labeled as the yellows and the non-yellows; nowadays they divide into the tabloids and the non-tabloids. But even among the tabloids there are signs of apostasy. Thus the New York *Daily News*, pioneer of tabloids and marvel

of circulation achievements, has actually begged for a public censorship to prevent what it admits are excesses of indecency. Under the caption "Censorship of the Press? Well, Why Not?" it says:

In this Peaches-Daddy Browning trial some of the publications reporting it have gone so far beyond the line of decency as to seem insane. . . . Far be it from us to pin a lily on our coat. The *News*, also, has gone too far. But the point is this: As long as there is more money in more smut some theatrical manager will be found to go a step farther than before. And as long as there is more newspaper circulation in more smut, some presses will be found to roll out the smut. Some unusually ruthless manager or editor leads the parade towards smut's farthest boundary line. The others—or many of the others—follow. They may follow reluctantly, but they do follow. Editors are people, and all people will do things under the stress of competition which they will not do ordinarily.

We see no end to competition in the New York newspaper field. Hence, we see no end to the smut parade unless the authorities intervene. We hate bureaucracy. We hate the suppression of free speech. But unless the minds of the children of New York are to be drenched in obscenity it seems to us that a censorship of the press as well as of the theater must come.

The censorship, of course, should extend only to matters of common decency. Free speech as to public affairs must be as free as now. . . . If the Postoffice Department is instructed to do so it can quickly cut out flagrant indecency in the newspapers with little disturbance and without creating a new bureau.

These suggestions will at first seem radical to other publishers. But we believe if they give the matter thought they will see that such a censorship would not bother the papers which wish to stay within the liberal bounds of decency. It would restrain only those that wanted to go beyond. And in the long run, even these would profit from being held in check.

Your cynic may jeer at Satan rebuking sin. But not the present commentator. He guesses that when that paragon of all proprieties, the New York *Times*, printed substantially verbatim reports of the Hall-Mills testimony, it made competition so brisk as to justify a cry for quarter. It's a grand thing to be so good that one may dare be very bad without giving offense. Maybe, if the legislators don't pass any laws on the subject, this sort of competition will decide all the papers to be good. The "yellows" were once alleged to be a national menace, and censorship was demanded on their account. But in time they became respectable. Now the tabloids are inspiring a call for the police. But isn't it possible that if we avoid excitement, the mauves will discipline the "tabs," just as the "tabs" did the yellows, without need for summoning the militia? It seems worth trying out.

TWO OF THE SENATE'S OFFICIAL LEADERS

BY WILLIAM HARD

ONE: The Vice-President of the United States. Two: The President pro Tempore of the Senate. These men might, in a sense, be called the Senate's "official leaders." Chairmen of committees arrive at their positions by seniority, by longevity. The personages above listed have to get elected to their posts—elected by the country or by the Senate.

The Vice-President

The Vice-President, the Honorable Charles Gates Dawes: A man with two personalities.

His first personality shows clearly when he dines out. A Vice-President must dine out. This is not in the Constitution; but it is so. Even Calvin Coolidge, not notorious for conviviality, was an incessant diner-out while Vice-President. The implements of the trade of a Vice-President are a gavel by day and a fork by night.

At dinner-parties, or at other parties, or (in fact) at any spot off the public platform, Mr. Dawes is suave, debonaire, unassuming, cheery, kindly. There is not a trace of ferocity in him.

Kindliness indeed is his chief private characteristic.

A young man of my acquaintance once borrowed \$250,000 at a Chicago bank for business purposes. He then fell ill. He could not meet the note. He barely knew Dawes; but in desperation from a sick-bed in Europe he cabled him.

Within twenty-four hours he had a message back from Dawes at Chicago saying:

"Your loan transferred to my bank. Will protect it till hell freezes over."

Fortunately the young man became well

and solvent. Otherwise that kindness might have cost Mr. Dawes personally quite a lot.

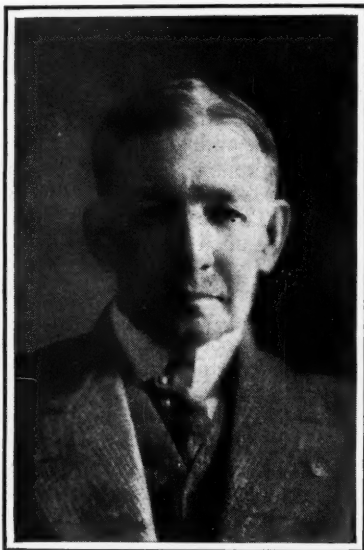
When his son Rufus died, he proceeded to adopt two children—a boy and a girl. He is always trying to see to it that the young striplings who serve the Senate as pages are having a good time.

Back in Chicago it is well known that he could not wait for the wheels of charity to grind. He had to go out and serve coffee and sandwiches to mobs of the distressed with his own hands.

That is one of his personalities. The other one begins, I think, with his being a musician. He is an artist. He has the artistic temperament. He therefore has, in addition to his private personality, a platform personality.

He builds up this personality. He studies audiences. He is a diligent peruser of Le Bon's book on the "Psychology of the Crowd." His "Hell and Maria" is for the consumption of the crowd.

His violent vituperations and gesticulations to the Senate in the matter of the Senate rules are not to the Senate. They are to the populace. They are perfectly sincere. There is not the slightest streak of insincerity



HON. CHARLES G. DAWES

anywhere in Dawes. It all means only that he has a certain deliberate and conscious and artistic platform method which is entirely different from his method of private personal intercourse.

A lamb in private and a roaring Bengal tiger, threateningly and ferociously a-lashing of his tail, in public. That is Dawes.

And a politician! He practiced law in Nebraska till 1894. He then moved to Illinois. What was he in Illinois? Nothing.

Yet in 1896 he so impressed old Mark Hanna that Hanna made him his right-hand man in corraling McKinley delegates from Illinois, and he thereupon became a member of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee from Illinois in the task of electing McKinley to be President. Senators who disparage Dawes politically should remember that little proof of Dawes's political proficiency in his younger days.

The President Pro Tempore

The President pro Tempore of the Senate, the Honorable George Higgins Moses of New Hampshire: An ultra-conservative who is on the closest personal and political terms with the Senate's ultra-radicals.

He is often mentioned now for the Republican nomination for Vice-President in case some western man (like Lowden or Dawes or Borah) should get the Republican nomination for President.

There is no doubt about his conservatism. He actually voted against an Administration tax measure on the ground that it went too far toward radicalism and taxed the rich too much! He does not resent it when a newspaper writer calls him a Tory. He is totally opposed to all modernistic political or economic nostrums, panaceas, revelations, revolutions, and new heavens and earths.

This comes perhaps from his being very schooled, very learned.

I handed him once a book of extremely antique Latin poetry. I wanted to point out to him a passage I thought he could use in a speech. I had puzzled it out with the help of many dictionaries and many commentaries. Moses took it up and translated it off-hand into a perfect English rendition of its meaning.

Moses is so colloquial and so rough in his talk that most people do not even suspect that he is a great scholar. But he is.

When the Taft administration wanted to do something for him, the only thing that he was willing to accept was the post of Minister to Greece. He wanted to go to Greece in order to see and know the land which had given him his books of ancient Greek poems and plays.

He is better grounded in the ancients than any other Senator. He cares nothing for modernism, for novelty, in any respect.

Yet he wrote a public letter openly endorsing Robert M. La Follette, Senior, for reelection in Wisconsin.

This was because both he and La Follette were "irreconcilable" enemies of the Treaty of Versailles and of the League of Nations.

Moses may have been right, or he may have been wrong, about the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. That is not the point. The point regarding his character is the following:

He disagreed with La Follette about domestic policies. He agreed with him (generally speaking) about international policies. He thought that our country in the world was more important than our domestic disputes

among ourselves. He utterly subordinated faction to country. He endorsed La Follette. He endorsed him because he said to himself: "Even if he's for too much power for trade-unions, he's the whole independent power of the United States of America."



© Underwood

HON. GEORGE H. MOSES

Moses's notions about what is patriotism, about what is Americanism, will always over-ride his notions about anything else. He could not properly be called an American Tory. He would have to be called—to put it accurately—a Tory American.

His career in the Senate has been daz-lingly rapid. He made the Foreign Relations Committee, for instance, in his first term.

This is the Senate's most resplendent committee. It is so for a very good reason. The Senate has really only one great advantage, only one great superiority, over the House of Representatives. It has to be consulted regarding treaties. It has to be consulted regarding our foreign relations.

Therefore a membership in the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate is much desired. Therefore it is seldom attained except after many years of service in the Senate. Moses attained it (as one might say) the very first time.

Then he became (as he delights to call it) the "Room Clerk and Steward of the Senate."

That is, he became the Senator responsible for the allocation of rooms to Senators in the Senate Office Building and in the Capitol and also responsible for the meals in the Senate lunch-room in the Capitol.

He was the chore-boy of the Senate.

He loves to joke. I have heard him say to a Senator: "I have a magnificent rug, which belongs to the Senate's stage prop-erties. Where do you stand on the Bunkum Bill? If you're for it, you don't get the rug in your office. If you're against it, you get the rug and you also get a new room to be added to your office."

Once I heard him making a corresponding remark to Senator Shipstead. Shipstead was being besieged by both Republicans and Democrats to vote on their side in the next organization of the Senate. Each

side needed him. Moses walked into the room. He said: "Shipstead, I can see the red flag hung out from your room. You are a Farmer-Laborite. They call you a Bolshevik. They say that you are for the red flag. But they don't know what it means. There's nothing to the idea that it means revolution. It only means an auction."

A Tory, a patriot, a scholar, a jester. That is Moses.

Almost everybody likes him. They have all pushed him along. He is burly in appearance, with a jutting jaw. He is flip-pant in behavior, with an engaging and disarming ironic laugh. He is intensely serious in his views. He is intensely frivolous in his manners. They have put him on the Com-mittee on Post Offices and Post Roads, of which he is now Chairman. They have put him on the Committee on Rules, of which he is now the third member from the top. They have put him on the Committee on Committees. They have put him on the Senatorial Republican Campaign Com-mittee. They made him Chairman of it in 1924. They have given him many other honors. And they have finally caused him to become the President pro Tempore of the Senate—which is to say, the Presiding Officer of the Senate if the Vice-President is not presiding—in succession to the late Senator Cummins of Iowa.

When he was chosen to fill that position, there was no candidate against him. He came to the Senate in the fall of 1918. Within seven years he was the unanimous choice of the Republicans in the Senate for President pro Tempore.

May I repeat and add? A Tory, a patriot, a scholar, a jester, a trusted char-acter—trusted by all factions, both those that are reactionarily financial and those that are radically frenzied.

Who can set bounds to the political possi-bilities of such a person?



OUT OF GAS?

BY JOHN HEISLER

THE spectacle of a nation with more than 22,000,000 motor vehicles in active use, and producing 70 per cent. of the world's petroleum, facing a near-future stoppage of fuel supplies is presented periodically to the American public. It is forced upon us by more or less well-meaning gentlemen with purposes ranging from conservation of fuel and fuel resources to that, entirely alarmist in character, foretelling a sudden dearth of liquid fuel before automobiles of present production have outlived their usefulness.

The unpopular picture left in the public mind is that of 22,000,000 automobiles and trucks suddenly stranded on the highways and byways of the nation. Translating the estimates of national oil consumption and reserves which have been put forward from time to time, with careful safeguarding and qualifying statements, into such scare-heads as "Oil Supply of the United States Will Last but a Decade," or "The United States Is Facing Imminent Exhaustion of Its Oil Supply," is a popular editorial sport. Seldom are the favorable factors mentioned.

Gasoline Dominates the Petroleum Industry

True, the unprecedented record of automobile production has created an unforeseen demand for fuel—motor gasoline—that has focused the attention of the nation, as well as of the industry, on this to the exclusion of other petroleum products.

The domestic demand for gasoline has increased from approximately 3,000,000,000 gallons in 1918 to 9,300,000,000 gallons in 1925. Consumption in the first half of last year exceeded that of the same period in 1925 by 15 per cent. Crude oil production in the same eight years increased from 355,927,716 barrels to 755,852,000. In other words, the gasoline demand increased threefold, while oil production doubled. This increased consumption was almost entirely due to the fact that in 1918 automobile production, including passenger cars and trucks, was 1,153,638, while in 1925 the production was 4,153,250.

So the gasoline demand grows with leaps and bounds until the growing deficit between domestic demand and production is met by importation from foreign sources.

We Use Four-fifths of the World's Production

Our position in gasoline is briefly this: Continental United States uses approximately 79 per cent. of the total world gasoline production. This figure corresponds very closely with the American percentage of the total world motor vehicle registration, estimated at 83 per cent. for 1925. The consumption of all Europe for 1924 reached an approximate total of 1,300,000,000 gallons, a quantity equivalent to a little less than 17 per cent. of that used in the United States during the same year. Another significant fact is that the next largest consumer of gasoline—the United Kingdom—required a quantity equal to only 7 per cent. of our domestic requirements. The total annual needs of China, with four times our population, are equivalent to eight hours' consumption here. The per capita consumption of the United States was 69 gallons for 1924 as against 29 gallons in Canada, our nearest competitor, and 12 in the United Kingdom.

The natural tendency in extending the life of the petroleum resources of the United States is by stimulation of foreign oil resources. Last year about 70 per cent. of the earth's production of oil came from the United States—that is to say, we produced more than twice as much oil as all the other countries of the world combined. And of the total oil thus far removed from the earth, more than 60 per cent. has come from the United States.

It follows inevitably from these simple facts that our oil resources are more nearly exhausted than those of the rest of the world. The proportion of known petroleum resources outside our boundaries which are in American hands is not sufficient to assure us of a continued supply. It amounts to less than 30 per cent. of our present

production. It is impossible to state the percentage of the potential oil resources of the world outside the United States which is in American hands.

The World Struggle for Oil

One of the factors retarding development of foreign oil resources is the question in some countries—notably much of the British Empire and France and French possessions—of an exclusion policy based on nationalistic feeling and a misguided patriotism which is injurious not only to the countries themselves but to the world at large. This tendency, greatly accelerated in recent years, to nationalistic control of natural resources, with its attendant possibility of political complications arising out of the domination of the oil supply of these producing countries by foreign capital, makes the dependence of the United States for its oil supply on foreign sources extremely precarious.

In this tremendous struggle to satisfy the insatiable and ever-increasing demand for gasoline, the American petroleum industry has developed a formidable battle line to force nature to relinquish her liquid treasure. Included in the ranks are an array of geologists, research chemists, engineers—technologists of all descriptions—hitherto unequaled in the history of commerce. Scouts are sent to the distant countries of the world to investigate, observe, and report on the possibilities of new sources of supply. National enmities are aroused. More oil from the earth, more gasoline from the oil, greater mechanical efficiency in its consumption, and at the same time a continuous search for substitutes; oil from shale, oil from coal, oil from any and all possible sources.

How Much Oil Is in the Ground?

Oil occupies a paradoxical position among minerals in the respect that new discoveries, new researches, and new developments have tended to increase rather than decrease its possibilities. No better example of this can be found than in the official estimates of our petroleum resources.

Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, counsel for the American Petroleum Institute, before a recent meeting of the Federal Oil Conservancy Board says, in part:

In 1908, the Chief Geologist of the United States Geological Survey estimated the minimum supply of petroleum reserves to be approximately 8,000,000,000

barrels and the maximum 23,000,000,000 barrels. It has been pointed out that at the end of 1923 the prolific and expanding Mid-Continent field in the light of this minimum figure should have become exhausted. In the report of the National Conservation Commission in 1909, it is stated:

"The production tables show that in seventeen years Pennsylvania and New York have decreased to a third of their greatest output. The decline has become regular, and logically extended will render the production negligible in ten years."

The chart accompanying the report shows a production of 9,000,000 barrels in Pennsylvania and New York in 1909, and indicates a decline by 1921 to approximately 2,600,000 barrels. The actual production of the two States mentioned in 1921 was 8,406,000 barrels, and in 1924 was 8,901,000 barrels. The domestic production of oil in the United States in 1909 was 26 per cent. of the production in 1924. In 1924 a prominent national authority made a survey of the country's oil wealth according to which the fields in Kansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana and Texas should now be "exhausted." In 1918, David White, Chief Geologist of the United States Geological Survey, published a further revision according to which, at the present rate of production, there would be only a little more than four and one half years' supply. In February, 1919, Dr. White reviewed the more authoritative estimate in a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Automotive Engineers, in which he said:

"The most significant feature of the prospect, however, is the probability that although an estimated two-thirds of our reserves is still in the ground, with an annual drain of one-third of a billion barrels, the peak of production will soon be passed—possibly within three years. The date when the peak will be reached is a matter of individual opinion, in which predictions have wide range. There are many well informed geologists and engineers who believe the peak in production of natural petroleum in this country will be reached by 1921 and who present impressive evidence that it may come even before 1920."

The production of crude oil in the United States in 1919 was 378,367,000 barrels; in 1924, 714,000,000.

So much for official and the only authoritative estimates of future production.

Increasing the Percentage of "Recovery"

For every barrel of crude oil taken from pools under present methods and economic returns for the product so recovered, two to five barrels of oil remain in the ground; the exact amount, of course, is not accurately known, though the estimates have run as high as 30,000,000,000 barrels. A recent announcement of the United States Geological Survey would appear to indicate that there is reasonable ground to hope that most of this locked-up oil may be freed for use. If so, the question of substitute fuels may be postponed to the future, and the scientific labors of the oil industry may be devoted to devising practical means of unlocking this vast store.

Statistics show that almost 9,000,000,000 barrels of oil have been removed from the fields of the United States. In its bulletin of the Smith-Dunn process for applying air to increase recovery from oil wells, the Bureau of Mines some time ago estimated that under methods of recovery commonly in use, between 10 and 20 per cent. only of the oil deposits could be brought to the surface. In other words, for every barrel of crude oil available to the refinery from an oil well under present-day practices probably five barrels remain in the well awaiting improved production methods.

Baking Soda That May Free Billions of Barrels of Oil

Reports from Washington say that the United States Geological Survey estimates that with the application of air and water the recoverable amount would be about one-third. A more recent announcement from the same source states that the introduction of sodium bicarbonate, dissolved in water, into the oil sands, followed by the flooding process, makes it theoretically possible to recover all the oil in every field except where local conditions make the use of the process impossible. This means, if the estimates are correct, that literally billions of barrels of petroleum definitely located are waiting to be made available for use—an assured supply for years, even if no new important fields are found.

In Bradford, Pa., the field under experimentation, expanding gas appears to have carried only about 15 or 20 per cent. of the oil to the old wells. The newer air and water flooding methods there are getting out another 15 or 20 per cent., leaving possibly two-thirds of the original oil still in the ground. Air and water drives push some of this oil out of the pores of the oil sand still soaked with an oil coating.

The big problem has been to find a means to compel the sand to release the oil; once released it may be flushed out through the pores by air or water. Neither high pressures nor high velocities of air or water are effective in stripping oil from sand. A cheap, readily obtainable reagent is necessary, and sodium bicarbonate, or the old-fashioned "baking soda," is satisfactory. This process has recently been discovered by Dr. Nutting of the United States Geological Survey. Here we should not become too optimistic, for two to three years must elapse to prove the practical

application of these methods. While theoretically 100 per cent. successful in the laboratory, they await the results of large scale application under varying field conditions to prove their commercial value.

Doubling the Yield of Refining Process

The refiners are making their contribution. There were 100 barrels of crude oil for every automobile in 1918, and only 40 barrels for every car in 1925; yet there has been no shortage of gasoline. This maintenance of gasoline supply has been made possible by new "cracking" processes, which have increased the average yield of gasoline from crude oil from 19 per cent. in 1916 to almost 36 per cent. to-day. During the same period the number of motor vehicles registered increased from 2,445,000 to 21,000,000, so that a more productive gasoline refining process was necessary.

If the gasoline of 1925 had been obtained by the simple method of primitive distillation, the American consumer would have needed an amount greater than the entire world production of 1924.

Twenty-six per cent. of the gasoline production of 1925 was obtained by new cracking methods. For the first five months of 1926 the additional gasoline thus obtained was equal to what could be recovered from 18,860,000 barrels of crude oil, added to that already run to the refinery stills. In short, increased refining efficiency saved the equivalent of 120,000 barrels of crude oil daily. In the first five months of 1926 that much less crude was run to stills, having just the same effect as if the refineries had found a pool producing 125,000 barrels of crude oil a day.

The Motor Industry, too, May Help

Automobile manufacturers have lagged little behind the petroleum industry itself in attempts to improve gasoline consumption efficiency, more familiarly known as "increased mileage." A modern automobile engine, an internal-combustion engine, is essentially a heat engine. In other words, it develops power by converting into heat the fuel used in operating it. It is the explosion of the heated gases resulting from each expansion that supplies the impulse necessary to run the engine. So far as the engine is concerned, a gallon of gasoline represents so many heat units; and the greater the percentage of these heat units that can be converted into actual working

power, the greater the efficiency of the engine will be. Unfortunately it is impracticable to use all this heat for power, because unless some means of cooling the engine is used the heat becomes so great as to be destructive.

Automobile engines to-day have a thermal efficiency of from 5 to 15 per cent. This efficiency can be improved by increasing the pressure attained by the gaseous explosion mixture, technically called increasing the "compression ratio"; but when this is done with the ordinary petroleum products a so-called "detonation" or "knocking" results which is destructive to the engine and more than offsets the theoretically increased efficiency.

Higher compression ratios bring to the front the question of alcohol fuels. It has been discovered that the addition to the gasoline of small amounts of organic compounds of certain metals suppresses this tendency to detonation, hence the several "anti-knock" fuels now sold.

Obviously, any increased efficiency in the internal-combustion engine will result in releasing just that increased amount of gasoline for use, or, inversely, permit the running of all automobiles now in existence on just that amount less. Whether this increase will be obtained by higher compression, more efficient carburetion, synthetic fuels, or the use of heavier oils, is impossible to prophesy.

It is altogether probable, also, that the future will see the development of automobile and truck engines that will burn the heavier fuel oils efficiently. Such a development will not only relieve the danger of an impending fuel shortage but will make possible even greater extension of the use of the automobile and truck. This is the most efficient use to which oil can be put.

Shale Oil a Great Future Source

American reserves of oil shale present the next greatest source of fuel oil as we near the exhaustion of our petroleum supplies. Oil shale is a rock formed by the consolidation of clay, mud or silt—which when rich in bituminous substances yield oil and gas on distillation. Immense reserves are found in Colorado, Nevada, Kentucky, Indiana, and other States. The reserve in Colorado alone is estimated at 20,000,000,000 barrels and that of southwestern Indiana at 100,000,000,000 barrels. Such a reserve cannot be exhausted for generations.

The known production of oil from the Colorado deposits is easily calculated to be at least four times the probable well oil production from all the oil pools of the United States. The escarpments of oil shale on the western slope of Colorado reach a length of 260 miles, from almost any part of which oil shale can be mined. So vast is this single field that if there were 100 reduction plants in operation, each treating 2000 tons a day, the easily accessible supply would last 700 years.

It should be realized, however, that granting the existence of these practically inexhaustible supplies of oil shale, a mining industry of proportions equal to those of coal would be necessary to supply by shale the United States demand for liquid fuel.

Analyses of Colorado shale have given an average of 20 gallons of crude oil per ton of shale. Other samples on analysis have shown a yield as high as 50 gallons and more per ton. Once the production of shale oil starts in sizable proportions, as petroleum prices increase, poorer shales can be worked down to the low grade Indiana shale which yields only 10 gallons per ton.

Colorado crude shale oil yields 6 to 12 per cent. of the highest grade of aviation gasoline, with an average of 10 per cent., and more than twice the quantity of motor gasoline as at present specified by the Government. The total motor distillate, including all gasoline and kerosene fractions, is from 38 to 61 per cent. of the crude.

Very likely in the near future ordinary motor fuel may contain fractions even heavier than those of kerosene, as was indicated in foregoing paragraphs on motor efficiency. When this comes to pass, Colorado shale oil would yield, by simple distillation, probably between 50 and 60 per cent. of fuel for carbureting engines.

The great economic importance of oil shales is that when the industry is properly developed as a result of higher prices for petroleum products, the United States will have a new domestic supply of mineral oils which cannot be cut off in time of war, whether military or economic.

In short, it is apparent that improved recovery from the ground, greater yields of gasoline from crude oil by improved technical processes, and a marked gain in the efficient utilization of liquid fuels, all backed by the immense oil shale reserves of the United States, leave little cause for worry to the American motorist.

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THE AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA

A STATEMENT BY THE HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG

(Issued by the Secretary of State on January 26, 1927)

AT THIS time, when there is so much discussion of the Chinese situation, I deem it my duty to state clearly the position of the Department of State on the questions of tariff autonomy and the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights.

The United States has always desired the unity, the independence and prosperity of the Chinese nation. It has desired that tariff control and extraterritoriality provided by our treaties with China should as early as possible be released. It was with that in view that the United States made the declaration in relation to the relinquishment of extraterritoriality in the Treaty of 1903 and also entered into the Treaty of Washington of February 6, 1922, providing for a Tariff Conference to be held within three months after the coming into force of the Treaty.

The United States is now and has been, ever since the negotiation of the Washington Treaty, prepared to enter into negotiations with any Government of China or delegates who can represent or speak for China not only for the putting into force of the surtaxes of the Washington Treaty but entirely releasing tariff control and restoring complete tariff autonomy to China.

The United States would expect, however, that it be granted most favored nation treatment and that there should be no discrimination against the United States and its citizens in customs duties, or taxes, in favor of the citizens of other nations or discrimination by grants of special privileges and that the open door with equal opportunity for trade in China shall be maintained; and further that China should afford every protection to American citizens, to their property and rights.

The United States is prepared to put into force the recommendations of the Extraterritoriality Commission which can be put into force without a treaty at once and to

negotiate the release of extraterritorial rights as soon as China is prepared to provide protection by law and through her courts to American citizens, their rights and property.

The willingness of the United States to deal with China in the most liberal spirit will be borne out by a brief history of the events since making the Washington Treaty. That Treaty was ratified by the last one of the Signatory Powers on July 7, 1925, and the exchange of ratifications took place in Washington on August 6, 1925. Before the treaties finally went into effect and on June 24, 1925, the Chinese Government addressed identic notes to the Signatory Powers asking for the revision of existing treaties.

On the first of July, 1925, I sent instructions to our Minister in Peking, which instructions I also communicated to all the other Governments, urging that this should be made the occasion of evidencing to the Chinese our willingness to consider the question of treaty revision. I urged that the Powers expedite preparations for the holding of the Special Conference regarding the Chinese customs tariff and stated that the United States believed that this special tariff conference should be requested, after accomplishing the work required by the Treaty to make concrete recommendations upon which a program for granting complete tariff autonomy might be worked out. The Delegates of the United States were given full powers to negotiate a new treaty recognizing China's tariff autonomy. At the same time, I urged the appointment of the Commission to investigate extraterritoriality, with the understanding that the Commission should be authorized to include in its report recommendations for the gradual relinquishment of extraterritorial rights.

Prior to this, the Chinese Government urged the United States to use its influence

with the interested Powers to hasten the calling of the Conference on Tariff Matters and the appointment of the Extraterritorial Commission and for each Government to grant to its representatives the broad power to consider the whole subject of the revision of the treaties and to make recommendations upon the subject of the abolition of extraterritorial rights.

This was in harmony with the views of the United States. Accordingly, on September 4, 1925, the United States and each of the other Powers having tariff treaties with China evidenced their intention to appoint their delegates to the Tariff Conference.

By a note which has been published the Powers informed China of their willingness to consider and discuss any reasonable proposal that might be made by the Chinese Government on the revision of the treaties on the subject of the tariff and also announced their intention of appointing their representatives to the Extraterritorial Commission for the purpose of considering the whole subject of extraterritorial rights and authorizing them to make recommendations for the purpose of enabling the governments concerned to consider what, if any, steps might be taken with a view to the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights. Delegates were promptly appointed and the Chinese Tariff Conference met on October 26, 1925.

Shortly after the opening of the Conference and on November 3, 1925, the American Delegation proposed that the Conference at once authorize the levying of a surtax of two and one-half per cent on necessities, and, as soon as the requisite schedules could be prepared, authorize the levying of a surtax of up to five per cent on luxuries, as provided for by the Washington Treaty. Our delegates furthermore announced that the Government of the United States was prepared to proceed at once with the negotiation of such an agreement or agreements as might be necessary for making effective other provisions of the Washington Treaty of February 6, 1922. They affirmed the principle of respect for China's tariff autonomy and announced that they were prepared forthwith to negotiate a new treaty which would give effect to that principle and which should make provision for the abolition of *likin*, for the removal of tariff restrictions contained in existing treaties and for the putting into effect of the Chinese National Tariff Law.

On November 19, 1925, the Committee on

Provisional Measures of the Conference, Chinese delegates participating, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The Delegates of the Powers assembled at this Conference resolve to adopt the following proposed article relating to tariff autonomy with a view to incorporating it, together with other matters, to be hereafter agreed upon, in a treaty which is to be signed at this Conference.

The Contracting Powers other than China hereby recognize China's right to enjoy tariff autonomy; agree to remove the tariff restrictions which are contained in existing treaties between themselves respectively and China; and consent to the going into effect of the Chinese National Tariff Law on January 1st, 1929.

The Government of the Republic of China declares that *likin* shall be abolished simultaneously with the enforcement of the Chinese National Tariff Law; and further declares that the abolition of *likin* shall be effectively carried out by the First Day of the First Month of the Eighteenth Year of the Republic of China (January 1st, 1929).

Continuously from the beginning of the Conference, our delegates and technical advisers collaborated with the delegates and technical advisers of the other Powers, including China, in an effort to carry out this plan,—viz. to put into effect the surtaxes provided for in the Washington Treaty, and to provide for additional tariff adequate for all of China's needs until tariff autonomy should go into effect. Until about the middle of April, 1926, there was every prospect for the successful termination of the Conference to the satisfaction of the Chinese and the other Powers. About that time the Government which represented China at the Conference was forced out of power. The delegates of the United States and the other Powers, however, remained in China in the hope of continuing the negotiations and on July 3, 1926, made a declaration as follows:

The Delegates of the foreign Powers to the Chinese Customs Tariff Conference met at the Netherlands Legation this morning. They expressed the unanimous and earnest desire to proceed with the work of the Conference at the earliest possible moment when the Delegates of the Chinese Government are in a position to resume discussion with the foreign Delegates of the problems before the Conference.

The Government of the United States was ready then and is ready now to continue the negotiations on the entire subject of the tariff and extraterritoriality or to take up negotiations on behalf of the United States alone. The only question is with whom it shall negotiate. As I have said heretofore, if China can agree upon the appointment of delegates representing the authorities or the

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people of the country, we are prepared to negotiate such a treaty. However, existing treaties which were ratified by the Senate of the United States cannot be abrogated by the President but must be superseded by new treaties negotiated with somebody representing China and subsequently ratified by the Senate of the United States.

The Government of the United States has watched with sympathetic interest the nationalistic awakening of China and welcomes every advance made by the Chinese people toward reorganizing their system of Government.

During the difficult years since the establishment of the new regime in 1912, the Government of the United States has endeavored in every way to maintain an attitude of the most careful and strict neutrality as among the several factions that have disputed with one another for control in China. The Government of the

United States expects, however, that the people of China and their leaders will recognize the right of American citizens in China to protection for life and property during the period of conflict for which they are not responsible. In the event that the Chinese Authorities are unable to afford such protection, it is of course the fundamental duty of the United States to protect the lives and property of its citizens. It is with the possible necessity for this in view that American naval forces are now in Chinese waters.

This Government wishes to deal with China in a most liberal spirit. It holds no concessions in China and has never manifested any imperialistic attitude toward that country. It desires, however, that its citizens be given equal opportunity with the citizens of the other Powers to reside in China and to pursue their legitimate occupations without special privileges, monopolies or spheres of special interest or influence.

REVISION OF TREATIES WITH CHINA

BY THE HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER

(Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives)

SERIOUS controversies in recent years have arisen out of certain provisions of treaties between China and the powers, including the United States, which were adopted long ago.

Repeatedly the Chinese have emphasized their dissatisfaction with those treaties. Officially and formally they expressed that dissatisfaction a quarter-century ago, in the negotiations following the Boxer uprising. More recently they renewed their protests at the Versailles peace conference, at sessions of the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations, at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, at the hearings on extraterritoriality, and in numerous notes addressed both to the United States and to the other principal powers.

Among the issues of major importance in dispute, there are only two with which the United States is directly concerned. These relate (1) to the exercise in China of

American extraterritorial or jurisdictional rights, and (2) to the limitation of China's autonomy with reference to the levying of customs duties or other taxes.

The controversy which centers around these two issues is disturbing the cordial relations which always have existed between China and the United States. There are minor points of difference growing out of other treaty provisions, but the settlement of these two main issues would be incalculably far-reaching in its influence and effect and the other differences automatically would disappear or yield to friendly negotiations.

The Basis of China's Complaint

Every foreign country administers its own laws and courts in China. The inherent defects of this "extraterritoriality" are such that these rights either should be relinquished or so limited in their operation as to remove injustice. The whole system is

contrary to the dignity of a great people. Prof. W. W. Willoughby, author of "Foreign Rights and Interests in China," has enumerated many objections and declared that there is only one justification advanced in support of the maintenance of extraterritorial courts by the powers in China—the claim that the Chinese laws do not satisfy their own ideas as to what is just and expedient.

In 1858 China agreed by treaty with the powers that the maximum import duties levied by China thereafter should not exceed 5 per cent. ad valorem. For upward of half a century the duties have been collected by the Chinese maritime customs administration, presided over by a British citizen and administered by a number of foreigners. The collections are deposited in foreign banks, and certain foreign loans have a first lien on the fund. In case there is a balance remaining, it is not released to the Chinese Government without the unanimous consent of the ministers representing the great powers.

In all progressive countries the power of taxation is vested in the most popular branch of the legislature; but in China this necessary function, so far as import duties are concerned, is vested in the representatives of foreign nations.

What the United States Should Do

The Chinese claim that the treaties with the United States at present in force deny to China the exercise of full sovereign rights. In these circumstances, and in accordance with our traditional policy, it is appropriate that the United States now should propose to the Republic of China negotiations looking toward the readjustment of treaty relations, in order to put these relations upon an equitable and reciprocal basis, and in such form as will in no way offend the sovereign dignity of either nation, or interfere with the realization of proper national aspirations, or the maintenance of legitimate domestic policies.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, of which the writer is Chairman, on January 28 reported favorably to the House a resolution reading in part as follows:

That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, respectfully requested to enter into

negotiations with duly accredited agents of the Republic of China, authorized to speak for the people of China, with a view to the negotiation and the drafting of a treaty or of treaties between the United States of America and the Republic of China, which shall take the place of the treaties now in force between the two countries, which provide for the exercise in China of American extraterritorial or jurisdictional rights or limit her full autonomy with reference to the levying of customs dues or other taxes.

This proposal to enter into negotiations at once would clear us from any possible charge of unwillingness to deal fairly with China. At the same time, it would place squarely upon the Chinese the responsibility for meeting us in a similar spirit of mutual fair-dealing and justice.

A Method of Procedure

In view of the present disturbed conditions in China, the question has been raised as to whether it would be possible for that country to appoint representatives authorized to act for China as a whole in negotiations with the United States. But all the testimony presented on this point confirms the view that, while the Chinese may be divided on domestic questions, they are strongly united in their desire that their country's equality among the nations be recognized and that existing restrictions on sovereignty be removed.

Whether or not the Chinese Government is sufficiently well-organized to appoint duly accredited agents with authority to bind by treaty the Republic of China can be determined in only one way, and that is by the United States making the necessary proposal and thereby ascertaining the facts. We have no right to remain inactive for reasons which are based on assumption.

Every day's delay in the adjustment of our differences with China will increase the feeling among the Chinese that force alone can be depended upon to secure justice. Nothing is gained and much may be lost by inaction.

The United States should determine for itself a distinctive policy in relation to China, and should declare and pursue that policy independently, if necessary of the other powers. Such action would insure the removal of the causes of misunderstanding between China and the United States without risk of delay arising out of controversies which China may have with other nations.

UNREST IN ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA; GERMAN ISSUES

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. The New Problem

IN RECENT weeks American attention has been fixed upon Asiatic events to the complete exclusion of European. Even the disturbances in Central America had in the end given way to Chinese disorders as the main topic of press discussion.

In the larger sense, however, there is justice in accepting the present Asiatic upheaval as a direct consequence of the World War. In Europe all the great powers are at the present time paying the costs of the frightful conflict both in financial burdens and in economic disorganization. But at the moment when they are crippled at home, the European nations are facing the severest challenge abroad which has yet come.

In Syria and in Morocco, France has been compelled in recent years to fight two wars of considerable magnitude and in one Spain was also engaged and temporarily defeated. British position in Egypt and Mesopotamia has frequently been uncomfortable and Mosul very recently threatened to precipitate a conflict.

Actually, however, the decline in European power was fatally disclosed at Chanak. The surrender of all Europe to Kemal Pasha, who never commanded 100,000 troops, the capitulation of the Alliance which had won the World War and numbered its veteran soldiers by the million to a horde of hungry and ill-equipped Osmanli, was the deadliest blow ever struck to European prestige on the continent of Asia.

Even before the World War the Japanese victory over the Russians had shaken the position of the West in the Far East. But it was only with the great conflict that the Asiatic world at last perceived the extent of European disorganization. When the war was over European prestige had been compromised and European power fright-

fully circumscribed. Moreover, Germany had been expelled from China and Russia was beginning to re-appear as an ally of the East.

To-day it is a fact that no European power, not even Great Britain, could bear the burden of an extended conflict in Asia. Nor is there any reason to believe that any European democracy, in its present post-war mood, would patiently meet the sacrifices in blood and treasure such a war would require. And this fact is just as completely perceived in Asia as in Europe.

While it is true that the return to China of many students from American and European countries, who have absorbed more or less completely conceptions of western democracy, has contributed to the unrest, this is after all only a minor if significant element in the upheaval. Nor is there much greater value to be assigned to the spread in the Far East of those doctrines of self-determination which were spread about so loosely during and after the World War.

This intellectual ferment has its importance. So also has the operation of Bolshevik propaganda, which has at last abandoned serious effort to rouse the proletariat of Europe and turned its attention to Asia. The Intelligentsia and the Soviet influences are considerable, but they have to-day the chance to operate upon a mass of millions who have always been animated by a profound hatred of the foreigner.

Too much importance can also be attached to the circumstances of western exploitation of China. This exploitation has been real, considerable, and the cause of much justified protest. It can not be continued, and so much Europe is utterly if tardily prepared to concede.

But the reason the Barbarian hordes finally overran the Rhine boundary and swept into the Roman world was not primarily

attributable to any new intellectual awakening east of the Rhine; it was due almost exclusively to the collapse of the power of resistance within. Rome could not bear the burden of an army of occupation. Its weakness within stimulated invasion from without.

And this is the underlying factor in China. The profound sense of the weakness of the foreigners has been communicated to the Chinese millions. A rule which was actually based far more upon prestige than upon power and upon bluff rather than physical force, is breaking down because the prestige has been destroyed and the bluff successfully called.

It is not merely that something has happened in Asia, it is not simply that new forces and new ideas have begun to operate. Revolt of the East is quite as much conditioned upon the decline of the West. The exhaustion due to the World War has had moral as well as physical results which are disclosed in all the actions of European Powers.

Nothing stands out more clearly to-day than British hesitation in the face of provocations which are enormous and menaces which can hardly be exaggerated. The whole British position in Asia is challenged and is becoming compromised. The boycott which has prevailed for years has taken an enormous toll in money. The destruction of property now threatened may mean further incalculable disaster.

Yet the British policy is not only hesitant but contradictory. Vast concessions to Chinese demands are accompanied by orders for the despatch of the greatest British military and naval expedition since

the war. British opinion is divided because on all sides there is the plain perception that in the last analysis, while an attack upon Shanghai might be warded off, a Chinese war could have only disastrous endings for Britain.

Shanghai might be held indefinitely, but the holding would have no compensating advantage if Chinese hostility continued. The trade and commerce of a besieged city would be of little value. Success in the suburbs of Shanghai might be accompanied by the complete cessation of British trade within the area of the Celestial Empire.

British statesmanship is plainly puzzled to know what to do. It is further handicapped by the fact that all other countries are determined to do nothing—or as little as possible. British, French, and Italian coöperation, Japanese aid, might make possible an effective demonstration. But while all countries have considerable interests, none but Britain is prepared to take steps which might in the end insure permanent exclusion. No country cares to invite the enduring hostility of a Chinese spirit it frankly finds bewildering and without easy explanation.

All British attention has been fixed upon Washington, because, if the United States associated itself with Britain, not only would the joint action be formidable, but Chinese wrath would be equally divided between the two Powers. But the British see clearly that America is anxious to avoid this equal distribution of hatred, and it naturally fears that in the end American trade will profit at British expense, if America refrains from violent action which Britain is forced to take.

II. What It Means

There is, however, one aspect of the Chinese affair which must claim consideration. Now, as in the case of the Russian Revolution, there is far too general readiness to see in the present upheaval a close parallel with American history and bestow upon some Chinese figure the mantle of George Washington. Thus it is readily assumed that once Europe has been compelled to abandon its concededly unfair claims in China, a real Chinese democracy will take over and carry on.

But this is to misinterpret the whole Chinese situation. The same delusion

attended the Russian Revolution. The West, despite the evil consequences it had for immediate military fortunes, hailed the Russian Revolution as the arrival of democracy in the Western sense in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Never was an awakening ruder, when Lenin and Trotsky began their operation which was to give the Russian Revolution the form it has since maintained.

One has only to know a little about the fundamental conditions in China to see how well-nigh inevitable a similar disillusionment is in the Chinese case. All the circumstances which combine to make West-

ern democracy possible are lacking in China. At best the vast millions are bound to be controlled by a handful, and it is at least just as possible that this handful will derive its inspiration from the Kremlin in Moscow as from Westminster in London or the Capitol at Washington.

What is taking place in China does not in all human probability forecast a sudden change to a new order and an equally swift return to approximately settled conditions. What is beginning, by contrast, is an upheaval which probably promises a long period of disorder in China, and may well extend to all other portions of Asia in which European power is seated.

The Russian Revolution gave its own interpretation to its actions. It created a system and adopted ideas and principles which were in fact a declaration of war upon all Western and capitalistic States. The Chinese Revolution is almost inevitably bound to do the same thing in its own time.

China, in the Western sense, does not exist. It has neither form nor shape. It is a vast incoherent thing, whose bulk alone has preserved it through the centuries. It is penetrated by no such sense of nationality as is an active and intelligent force even in the minor European nationalities. If there is an ancient and marvelous civilization discoverable on the surface, the depth of the ignorance and superstition which underlies all has no parallel anywhere, save, perhaps, in portions of India.

The retirement of Europe from Asia, which now seems threatened, will hardly mean the mere surrender of rights and privileges that have become untenable. It will in all probability mean something more than the transfer of property titles and prestige perquisites. It may just as well mean the descent of China into complete and continuing anarchy as sudden or even relatively early emergence into modern national life.

That is what the British see and feel. If tardily, yet completely, the British are prepared to abandon the privileged position which they have held. But the question is not transferring authority from foreign to national hands; it is not the replacing of one order by another. What actually threatens is the collapse of all order, the end of the economic as well as the political situation Europe has created in Asia.

The old idea of the exploitation of native races, the conception of commercial exploita-

tion based upon capacity to rule, has gone the way of so many other ideas of the last century. There has been an increasingly general recognition of the fact that native races, for better or for worse, are bound sooner or later to demand and obtain a large measure of self-government and in the end complete independence.

The new theory, expressed best perhaps in India, has been, that between what has existed and what must be there should be an intermediate stage, during which peoples gradually acquired experience in the management of their own affairs. But the Chinese explosion must inevitably raise the question as to whether the native races will wait or can be persuaded or compelled to go to school.

If they do not, no one who knows the East hesitates to forecast a long and perhaps interminable period of anarchy and possibly a slow return to the situation in which Europe found Asia three or four centuries ago. Meantime, the explosion may carry ruin to every European establishment east of Suez, British India, French Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies. For it is almost axiomatic that none of these colonies can be defended if the upheaval becomes general.

Certainly none of these possible results can warrant American intervention in China. If we are compelled to protect the lives of our nationals we shall, in all probability, be bound in the end to agree to their retirement. But what is demanded now and henceforth is some considered policy in dealing with Asia. The pleasing fiction that a new China naturally friendly to the United States is destined to emerge is just as likely to prove absurd as the similar delusion about the new Russia.

If Europe is driven out of China the Chinese millions will be exploited either by a handful of their own leaders or by Russian agents. No problem is more fascinating today than that supplied by the attitude of Japan. If the expulsion of Europe from China might well prove pleasant for the Japanese the arrival of the Russians can hardly be as attractive. The struggle of Russia and Japan over China is at least one of the possible developments of the future.

Meantime it is well to perceive that what is taking place in China and in Asia generally is with all its incoherence a very well defined revolt against European supremacy. And it is just as necessary to recognize

that in its later stages this revolt may take forms and follow principles and programs at least as unwelcome to the West as those which the Russian Revolution ultimately adopted.

Nor is it less worth while to note that the consequences of the World War continue to be disclosed in all parts of the world. Moreover, as the temporary paralysis of the world's economic life produced immediate and continuingly evil consequences for the British nation, the shock to the political system has had unfortunate consequences

for the British Empire which still continue.

And nothing is more challenging than the study of the extent to which the realization of the breakdown of European strength has been growing both in Asia and in Africa, and the degree to which this realization has stimulated and continues to stimulate Asiatic revolt. Moreover, while America remains strong, despite the war, nothing suggests that it will consent to lend its support either to Europe generally or to Britain specifically.

III. Latin-American Unrest

With respect of the recent Latin-American issues, both with Mexico and Nicaragua, there is a single aspect which claims comment here. Whatever the merits of our stand in Mexican and Nicaraguan questions, it is an unmistakable fact that our policy in these matters has at once roused protest and denunciation from one end of South America to the other, and in the same fashion provoked European criticism and played Europe's game.

Last month I tried to make clear the extent of European bitterness toward the United States. In this situation there might well be very sound reasons for pursuing in the case of Latin America policies which were based upon the recognition that hostility in Europe made friendship in Latin America far more important. And the material as well as the moral value of such friendship is clear.

In the nature of things South America is bound to be the scene of increasingly bitter economic rivalry between Europe and the United States. The war gave us a position in South American markets which we had not enjoyed before. To retain this position was naturally important. But prejudice against one of two close rivals must act very disadvantageously in all commercial competition.

Henceforth, as a result of our Latin-American policies as recently expressed Europe will find it just so much easier to capture our trade in South America. Nor will it be less easy for it to make South America the basis for its inevitable anti-American political maneuvers. Since South American countries are for the most part members of the League of Nations, that will be a fertile field for tilling.

American policy has for years been more and more tending to seek coöperation between all the American countries as the basis of political action. We have made every sort of official effort to advance friendly relations. In doing this we have at all times been handicapped by underlying suspicions which were stimulated by the Panama Canal episode and strengthened by our various interventions in Haiti and Nicaragua.

Such progress as had been made, however, was for the most part completely destroyed by the recent Nicaraguan performance. We have not at the moment a friendly public opinion in any Latin-American country. All the influential press has recently been united in denouncing American imperialism. All of this denunciation finds ready echo in Europe and is the basis for an ever-growing solidarity between European and South American sympathies.

There is thus raised the very simple question as to whether any country can afford the collective hatred of most of the rest of the world. On the Japanese side our immigration policy has roused enduring Japanese resentment. In Latin America our various attempts to protect American rights have ended by creating a solidarity of distrust which begins at the Rio Grande and extends to Cape Horn. In Europe our debt policy has united all our debtors and is rapidly bringing together the nations which suffer as a consequence of the delay in recovery which our policy imposes.

It is quite patent that at the present time this circle of hostility carries with it no serious political threat, although its economic repercussions can be very con-

siderable. But there is at least a cause for passing reflection in the fact that for the powerful nations of three continents there is a basis for common agreement in the hatred of the people of the United States.

Moreover, what makes this hatred at least a cause for potential danger is the fact that in each case it is founded upon a sense of injury and a conviction of injustice. Europe sees in our debt policy a purpose to exploit its misfortune. France and Germany at the moment see the program of Thoiry postponed and Allied occupation of Germany continued because we refuse to permit German railway bonds to be marketed in the United States for the benefit of France, pending ratification of the debt settlement.

South America not only believes that American imperialism threatens its independence but is steadily finding in the expressions of the European press complete confirmation of this fear. All the considerable Continental newspapers have seized upon American policy in Nicaragua as a basis for propaganda and a line of attack. What South America fears, the Continental press steadily proclaims as a real peril.

Here lies the continuing weakness of American foreign policy. Always the individual issue is considered and dealt with without regard to its relation to international conditions of a general character. The Nicaraguan affair was one thing taken by itself. It became an entirely different thing when considered in the light of the present state of mind both of South America and of Europe.

Nothing will certainly more greatly please European statesmen and diplomats than to make use of South American distrust

and fear of us as means of handicapping an economic rival. This would be true if there were no other issue at stake save that of future business. But Europe is collectively outraged at our debt policy; it is continually suffering from it and it is certain to make use of every conceivable weapon for reprisal.

General Peyton C. March, returning from a five-years' stay abroad, said the other day that hatred of the United States was becoming the basis of European agreement. Allowing for exaggeration there is a measure of truth in the statement. Fear and apprehension of American designs in Latin America are just as surely becoming the bases of a policy of combination south of the Panama Canal.

The single question which always remains pertinent is whether the United States can afford to be the center of a circle of hatred. The profoundest error of German statesmanship in the period before the World War was not that it insisted upon retaining Alsace-Lorraine, or opposing Russian influence in the Balkans and at the Golden Horn, or undertaking to challenge British sea power. Every one of these purposes might easily have been defended from a German standpoint.

The real mistake was in attempting to combine all three policies and thus insuring common action on the part of Russia, France and Great Britain. It was this course which led directly to the "encirclement" of Germany by a combination of States which felt themselves threatened and were as a consequence hostile. But American policy is arriving at the same situation by giving equal offense to Asiatic, Latin-American and European peoples at the same moment.

IV. Ending Military Control in Germany

For the remainder of the present article I shall discuss two recent events in Germany which have had, and are likely to have, continuing consequences. In the first place, as a result of a previous agreement reached at Geneva between M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann, Allied control of German armaments has been terminated and all future supervision lodged with the League of Nations.

No mistake should be made about the actual meaning of this arrangement. It

would be idle to suppose that the League could hope to exercise any real authority in this matter. The fact is that the Allies have at last resigned the effort to keep Germany disarmed. During the past eight years they have unmistakably destroyed the mechanical adjuncts of the German machine. They have in part, too, restricted the reorganization of the German army.

They have, on the whole, utterly failed to prevent the creation of a framework on which a new German army could be

quickly constructed. If Germany is to-day physically disarmed and deprived of the material without which modern war is impossible, she has the men and the organization. It is, too, within her power now to build up the mechanical side of her military establishment.

What the Allied governments have recognized is that permanent supervision and control of German armaments is impossible. Eight years of effort, while it has been far from fruitless, has demonstrated that the process cannot be continued indefinitely. The Germans are a great people—the most numerous nation, after Russia, on the European continent. To attempt longer to hold them in leading strings would mean danger in excess of all temporary advantage.

Henceforth peace must depend, not upon restraint of Germany but upon the development within Germany of the will for peace. Exactly the same surrender was forced upon the Allies who had conquered the France of Napoleon both in 1814 and again in 1815, after Waterloo. Allied armies had to be withdrawn from French soil. The risks which had to be taken then, the immediate risks, were greater than to-day, but wise policy determined the same course.

We are in the ninth year since military decision terminated the World War. In that time the Treaty of Versailles has been modified and made workable. The long period of conflict which lasted from the Paris Conference in 1919 to the London Conference of 1924—that is, until the framing and adoption of the Dawes Plan—has terminated. Reparations as regulated by the Dawes Plan have ceased to be a barrier to peace.

In the same fashion, Locarno and the later admission of Germany to the League of Nations have destroyed those assumptions of the Treaty of Versailles, which were made the basis for the treatment of Germany as an inferior both politically and morally, as different. While the territorial losses inflicted upon Germany at Versailles have been confirmed in all later adjustments, and the liability of Germany for reparations reaffirmed, the victorious Allies have totally abandoned the notion that the German people could be treated internationally other than as equals or the German Reich as other than a great power.

The end of military control is a logical extension of the inevitable series of modifica-

tions of the settlement after the war, modifications which had to come but were forced to wait while the popular emotions aroused by the war in Allied countries subsided. The delusion, once so common, that the German people after defeat would see the war and the future eye to eye with the Allied people has been exploded.

It has not proved possible to impose Allied opinions upon the German people. Their views as to the cause of the war and the character of the settlement remain utterly different from our own. The evolution of post-war Germany has been very different from what could have been forecast and was expected. Germany has gone her own road and Germans have remained Germans.

On the other hand, it has become unmistakable that hope of real readjustment and enduring peace in Europe must be found in the possible development within Germany of a spirit of coöperation with the outside world. And it has been just as clearly perceived that this spirit might easily be destroyed by any continuance of Allied interference with the full and free evolution of Germany on her own lines and with complete control of her own establishment.

Of all the limitations imposed upon Germany by her defeat, limitations represented by continuing interference with her sovereignty and independence, there now remains only the occupation of the two Rhineland Zones and the Sarre Basin by Allied armies. Under the treaty, evacuation of the first of these zones would take place in 1930, and of the second in 1935. On the later date a plebiscite was ordered to decide the future state of the Sarre.

To-day no one in Europe believes that the occupation will endure for eight more years. No one even in France imagines that the plebiscite will be held. German possession and control right down to the frontiers of 1870 are not only assured, but negotiations have taken place—and are likely to continue—to hasten the date of the liberation of the occupied regions.

This was the occasion for the conversations of Thoiry. These failed because American policy deprived Germany of any material for bargain. Since the United States Government refused to permit the marketing of German railway bonds here, while France refused to ratify the Mellon-Berenger debt agreement, Germany was

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without funds with which to purchase French evacuation.

French public opinion is frankly divided about evacuation in advance of the fixed dates. The new French frontier is unfortified; the French army is going through a period of reorganization and reduction. Distrust of Germany, if it has diminished largely, still continues a force. No foreign minister, not even Briand, could hope to obtain French approval for a program of evacuation which did not also include material benefits to France.

Thus, precisely as American demand for debt settlement in 1922 was the precipitating cause of the occupation of the Ruhr, American insistence upon French settlement now prolongs the occupation of Germany and thus delays German recovery of complete sovereignty within her own house. Moreover, the recent recovery of the franc has reduced French needs for the moment, and as a consequence it is Germany which is called upon to pay the price of American decision.

Yet the situation cannot endure. To prolong Allied occupation for eight years more would be to postpone Franco-German reconciliation indefinitely. It would be to play into the hands of the Nationalists and Monarchists within the Reich fatally. And while the problem is primarily Franco-German, it is in the larger sense European.

V. Germany's Cabinet Crisis

In addition to the discussion of the ending of military control in Germany, recent days have seen world-wide interest in the political crisis within the Reich. For a full month the effort has been made to find a cabinet which might have a majority support and thus give Germany the promise of a stable ministry—something which has been lacking for a number of years; in fact, since the occupation of the Ruhr.

The existing chaos in German politics grows out of conditions which to American minds are little short of bewildering. The multiplicity of parties is itself confusing, but the differences between these parties almost defy elucidation. Thus while the Social Democrats, the Catholics of the Center Party, the Democrats, and the People's Party are agreed in supporting the Republic, the solid block of Nationalists remain Monarchists. The Nationalists and

Only the paralysis of British finance, resulting from the war and the economic disasters since the coming of peace, has so far prevented the British from undertaking an operation which would at once be good business and good politics. Every British interest would be served by the recall of British troops from the Continent and the ending of a period of Franco-German tension, which can only end when evacuation ceases.

The greatest opportunity the United States has yet had to serve the cause of peace and order in Europe has been so far neglected, because the American Government has fixed its attention narrowly upon the debt problem. But this concentration has not led to French agreement, and the present trend of French opinion is increasingly against the Mellon-Berenger treaty. Only a new decline of the franc would bring a reversal of this French view; and such a decline is for the present unlikely.

Moreover, while the design of the Administration's policy is to exert pressure upon France, the effect of the policy is to inflict hardship upon Germany. In German eyes the American Government becomes more and more clearly responsible for the prolongation of the occupation of the Rhineland. Thus American protestations of a desire to help Europe sound more and more unreal, and even hypocritical.

the People's Party, which represents Big Business, are agreed in the advocacy of conservative domestic policies, while the Socialists are naturally champions of radical social legislation.

You have, therefore, the eternal horizontal and vertical division in German politics. The whole country is divided on the issue of monarchy and republic, with a nominal majority on the republican side and an overwhelming majority opposed to any present attempt to disturb the existing order. But the republican majority is divided between radicals and reactionaries in domestic politics.

The great problem is to find a majority government. In foreign policy there is no difficulty in rallying a majority for the course of conciliation which was disclosed at Locarno and represents the efforts of Stresemann. All the republican parties

are agreed upon this program. It commands a majority in the Reichstag. All the parties from the Socialists to the People's favor it. But in domestic policy the Socialists and People's Party, representing Labor and Capital respectively, cannot coöperate. The Center Party, although nominally more conservative than the Socialist, is just as certainly less reactionary than the People's Party.

Hitherto all cabinets in recent times have been minority affairs. They have existed by enlisting Socialist support for their foreign policy and Nationalist for their domestic. Thus Germany is disclosed as republican and reactionary, for peace abroad and for conservatism at home. But such a situation insures incoherence and involves frequent changes. The Socialists and the Nationalists inevitably become weary of being used in turn; they rebel and together vote against the government, and upset it.

President Hindenburg has thus, in the latest crisis, insisted upon the formation of a majority government. He has favored the union of the Bourgeois and Nationalist parties—that is, all the considerable groups save the Socialists. Such a coalition has been declined by the Democrats, however, who are unwilling to combine with the Nationalists. But just as fatally the refusal of the People's Party to unite with the Socialists has made impossible a Left ministry.

Out of the mess there has come at last a combination of the Center, the People's Party, and the Nationalists, reinforced by the Bavarian People's Party and the Economic Union. Nominally such a fusion would have a majority of forty in the Reichstag. But the difficulty is twofold. The Catholic Center is divided over the wisdom of coöperating with the Monarchists, and this has produced a split in its ranks. The Monarchists are opposed to any action which involves acceptance of the Republic.

Marx has steadily insisted that the presence of Nationalists in the cabinet should be accompanied by a pledge to accept both the Republic and the Locarno foreign policy. As a consequence the Nationalists, who are eager for office, have made certain utterly contradictory declarations. They have accepted the Republic but refused to recognize the revolution which produced

the Republic. They have conceded the treaties made at Locarno as legal, but they have rejected the spirit of Locarno.

No performance could be less calculated to create confidence or promote unity. The opening sessions of the Reichstag, following the formation of the new Marx Cabinet, were the occasion for violent explosions of political feelings; and both the prestige and the actual support of the new government were shaken, if not fatally compromised. The existence of an actual majority seemed more apparent than real, and a speedy fall seemed assured.

In point of fact there is, as yet, no real basis for majority government. It can come only when the Nationalists have at last accepted the Republic in fact if not in principle. Germany is for the present both republican and reactionary. It is out of the question that the radicals should accept reactionary policies. But it is much less unthinkable that the Monarchists, in the end, should recognize the republic as likely to endure for a period of years at least, and thus, by accepting it, clear the way for a coalition based upon conservative domestic policies which would have a sure majority.

Meantime, the return of the Nationalists to political power in the Marx Cabinet has had an inevitable and unhappy effect abroad. France, naturally apprehensive, has seen with unmistakable disappointment the reappearance of Nationalists in positions of importance. There has been stimulated a feeling of distrust. This feeling did not become crystallized in time to postpone the surrender of military control, but it has now assumed an importance which must affect all proposals to hasten evacuation of the Rhineland Zone.

The fact is that whatever may be the domestic political situation of Germany, only cabinets which represent republican parties can command confidence abroad. And therefore only such cabinets can hope to obtain further concessions abroad. It may be true, as many Germans argue, that even the rather unconvincing acceptance of the Republic by the Nationalists constitutes a gain, and that once inside the government the Monarchists will be forced to adopt policies of conciliation. But these statements find little credence in France.

As a consequence, all signs point to delay now in the negotiations to bring about evacuation of the Rhineland.

AMERICA AND EUROPE

AN ATTEMPT TO ANALYZE THEIR MUTUAL MISUNDERSTANDING

BY ALFRED ZIMMERN

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Director of the Geneva School of International Studies)

LAST summer, during the worst moments of the franc crisis, a group of Americans assembling in a sight-seeing car outside a tourist agency in Paris were booed. This was cabled across the Atlantic as a news-item, and the American press has been busy ever since discussing whether Europe hates the United States and, if so, why.

As one whose work has for some years past taken him to and fro between the United States, Great Britain, and the Continent, I have been asked for a frank expression of my opinion on European-American relations.

My view on the whole matter can be summarized in a very few words. When the League of Nations project was first being discussed in 1917, the late Mr. Jacob H. Schiff was quoted as declaring: "Your League of Nations is not enough: the root of the matter is economic." The last ten years have made it clear to all of us, on both sides of the Atlantic, that economic considerations underlie and largely determine political happenings. To-day we are being forced to realize that, if economics underlie politics, there is a still more potent, if elusive, factor which underlies both the politics and the economics in European-American relationships. That factor is the mind of the dwellers on the two sides of the Atlantic. Varying the phrase of Mr. Schiff, I would say to all those who are grappling with the issues of the moment, whilst wishing well to their efforts: "*Your economic solutions are not enough: the root of the matter is intellectual.*"

The Real Problem

The real trouble between Europeans and Americans is simply misunderstanding—a misunderstanding so complete that its effects extend to every field of their mutual intercourse, political, economic, social and even philanthropic.

The relations between Europe and the United States will never be normal until this misunderstanding is removed. By that I do not mean to say that I look forward to the day when a majority of the inhabitants of the two continents will have an intimate understanding of the life and mind of the dwellers on the opposite side of the Atlantic. But I do look forward to the day when there will be a substantial number of individual Europeans and Americans who have won their way to that understanding. And especially I look forward to the time when the younger generation on each side is brought up to regard the Atlantic as an ocean interposed between equal continents and to look neither up nor down, but straight across the dividing water.

Relations between Europe and America have never been normal because they have never been equal. They have always been spoiled by some kind of unequal attitude, ranging all the way from the commands that emanated from the Old World under the old colonial system to the exhortations that emanate from the New World to-day. Whether it be the tie of political control, or of social prestige, or literary and artistic fashion, or of economic indebtedness, or of philanthropic obligation, the resulting situation is always, in essence, the same. Inequality begets embarrassment: and true friendship cannot grow up in an atmosphere of embarrassment.

As between Canada and Great Britain the problem has recently been solved, so far as it can be solved on paper, by the adoption of the formula of equal status. That formula and the spirit behind it need to be applied thoroughly and ruthlessly to every phase of European-American relationship until the last remaining cobwebs of a bad tradition have been swept out of every mind.

What is that bad tradition?

Bad European Tradition about America

In the Old World it is the habit of regarding America as a vast and semi-barbarous extension of Europe. Blind to the real America, Europeans are prone to judge life in the United States by their own standards; and they naturally find much to criticize.

This habit has led to a vast deal of jocosity, some of it amusing, most of it merely ignorant foolishness, and nearly all of it an offense against international comity. If the League of Nations Committee on International Intellectual Coöperation were exercising its authority in Plato's Republic instead of in the easy-going world of to-day, it would issue a decree forbidding these literary gambols by over-smart Europeans and deporting contumacious offenders to another planet.

It is a real tragedy that the books about America which circulate most widely in Europe are generally so much overdrawn as to be totally misleading. They fall into three classes; there are the books of impressions which the European visitor to the United States, if he wields a pen, usually finds it impossible to resist writing; there are works of fiction, whether by Americans or with an American background; and finally there are the critical studies and satirical writings by Americans bent on improving conditions in their own country. The true works of interpretation that are being increasingly produced in these days are not known in Europe except in a very limited circle. Yet it is through such books, and the approach that they offer to the American scene, that Europeans can best learn to appreciate what is, and will always be for them, in the deepest sense of the word a New World.

This urge that drives the European visitor to write a book about his impressions is a healthy symptom, however inferior the resulting volume. It shows that the impact of America upon a live European mind spurs it to activity by contrast. America is for the European not simply another nation, as Italy is for a Frenchman or Denmark for a German: it is more even than another continent. It is a totally new experience. It is, I would almost say, an inoculation.

You can watch the European visitor and see how the infection "takes." In not a few cases, especially among hardened intellectuals, the organism is immunized against the germ. The effect of America

in such cases is simply to make the subject more obstinately European. He reacts much in the same way as the Athenian intellectuals reacted against the vulgarian who came to preach to them a new way of life. Readers of Renan's "St. Paul" will remember the scathing passage in which he explains why St. Paul has left us no epistle to the Athenians. He could not found a church there because "the professor is the most difficult type of mind to convert." It is exactly the same kind of resistance that the European intellectual, secure in his own standards, offers to the impact of America. Because it grates on his sensibilities, he closes his mind and refuses to undertake the task of interpretation which is the justification of his existence.

European Caricatures

This is the explanation of the strange caricatures and distortions of America which pass current from time to time in Europe. "Shylock" is the most recent and perhaps the most ridiculous of the whole series. Nobody who has had any real contact with America or with the American attitude toward money can imagine Uncle Sam in that rôle without smiling. Misers, usurers, and the like are the product of our own frugal and abstemious continent, with its traditional petty round of business; not of the land of boundless horizon and boundless opportunity.

No wonder that Americans rub their eyes in surprise at seeing themselves as Europeans pretend to see them. The fact is, of course, that Europe does not really see them at all, for the simple reason that it is not looking at them. It is averting its gaze from them, and making up an imaginary picture from its own interpretation of certain trends of opinion and policy.

It would not be difficult to explain why practically all Europeans consider the policy of the United States Government mean, whilst many Americans consider it generous. But such an explanation would involve a survey of the course of political events in Europe and America since the Armistice, and would have nothing whatever to do with American miserliness, generosity or any other trait of the American character.

In other words, the accusation of miserliness which Europeans fling at America results, not from anything that we have observed in Americans, but from our own

reactions toward a policy which has been actuated by entirely different motives. Since we are constitutionally unable, through our ignorance of American conditions, to understand what those motives are, we pick up the first brick-bat that comes handy for our ignorance and fling it in irritation across the Atlantic.

Nevertheless, in the world as it is to-day and as it is going to remain, to refuse to understand America is to exclude oneself, as the Athenian professors excluded themselves, from a vital and indeed indispensable experience. It is, in fact, to remain uneducated. We are only just beginning to consider what kind of education is needed for effective and harmonious participation in the new large-scale interdependent society of which we all now form part.

But, leaving that question for the time being on one side, let us turn from the conventional European distortions of America to the conventional American distortions of Europe.

Bad American Tradition about Europe

In America the bad tradition takes the form of regarding Europe as a decadent continent. Blind to the living forces at work there, Americans judge Europe by their own standards and naturally they find much to criticize.

This European decadence appeals in different ways to different classes of Americans. In some, who have set their face toward America like Bunyan's pilgrim hastening from the City of Destruction, it inspires nothing but a confused memory of horror and disgust. For such, the "Old World," sunk in iniquity, is an eternal breeding place of war, tyranny, persecution and Machiavellian intrigue. They regard it in much the same way as Englishmen have for generations regarded the Balkans.

Minds like these—and they are numerous enough to have their representatives in high place—are hermetically sealed against good tidings from Europe. The progress of the League of Nations, the Locarno agreements and other signs of a new order in the Old World are not examined on their merits but evoke the stereotyped response of cynical incredulity: "Can anything good come out of Europe?" I am reminded of a conversation I had at Geneva with one of the League delegates from Abyssinia. I asked him whether he believed that the League would ensure permanent peace. A sad

expression came over his face as he told me very definitely that he did not. When I asked him why not, he replied in words which I shall never forget, "We Abyssinians have noticed that you in Europe care very much for wealth and power. So long as men care much for wealth and power there will not be peace in the world."

To such abstract reasoning there is no answer, except perhaps to ask whether Abyssinians and Americans do not themselves love wealth and power. The Abyssinian tradition about Europe is no doubt based on experiences that are true, too true; so is the American. But they do not help toward an intelligent understanding of the forces that are working for better things! This kind of abstract idealism is indeed one of the greatest obstacles that confront the true educator, not merely in the international sphere but in every field of political affairs. Millions of Americans are still seeing Europe as an abstract idea.

The Tradition of Pity

In other minds, hardly less absolute in their judgments, the sad plight of decadent Europe evokes tenderer emotions. Millions of Americans are sorry for Europe. They pity us. They feel compassion for our poverty, for our backwardness, for the difficulties resulting from our unhappy divisions, for all the miserable consequences of our past sins. They feel the urge of the good Samaritan. They would like to bind up our wounds, assuage our hatred, break down our barriers, promote our union. They see the City of Destruction not as an abomination to be avoided but as the goal of an errand of mercy.

My mind goes back, as I write, to an office in the capital of one of the Succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the first years after the Armistice. There sits an American in his shirt sleeves. His features, the broad brow and firm mouth and chin, recall the bust of a Roman emperor, as is not uncommon among big American executives, particularly in the Middle West. But he is not an emperor. He is Commissioner-General of Relief. And he is administering relief on the grand American scale, generous and far-reaching, but ruthlessly efficient. He has his charts, his card-catalogues, his survey results, his office force—in short, all the material instruments of American constructive idealism.

Before his eyes, outstretched on the wall,

is a large map of the region within a part of which his operations extend, the line of the Danube cutting sharp through its midst. He has been discussing his problems, the unreasonableness of the natives, the difficulties arising from the languages, the customs barriers, the legacy of the war and the whole past history of the region. "Look at that river," he cried, striding to the map and drawing his finger along the Danube. "It is the Mississippi of Europe. It ought to be as free as the Mississippi from its source to its mouth. Then there would be a chance for these countries to enjoy some American prosperity. But they will never enjoy it," he went on, "till they have cleared away these ridiculous barriers, including all these outlandish tongues. Why can't they all talk a single language as we do? What is the use of all these little languages of theirs? I would like to have a fortnight—just a single fortnight in their little Ministries of Foreign Affairs, and Ministries of Public Instruction. I would clear out their cobwebs." Thus, with a magnificent gesture, such as Julius Caesar might have made in ancient Gaul or Britain, with their manifold tribes and kinglets, he swept away generations of history and tradition, of inherited culture and institutions.

He was an apostle of benevolence. But he was also, though he would be aghast at the title, an imperialist. And the imperialistic temper manifested in works of benevolence is no less unpopular than in its other forms. For benevolence is an unequal relationship and contains all the seeds of bitterness inherent in inequality.

It is this bitterness which is responsible for another of the legends about America which are very current just now in Europe, the legend of American hypocrisy. Americans of the Roman type that I have just described consider that they know better than Europeans themselves what is good for Europe. Their belief in their own solutions is perfectly honest and sincere. They have no doubt at all that the armaments, the tariff barriers, the languages and all the other complexities they come up against in European affairs are due to simple and easily removable causes. And they think they know how to remove them by the use of American influence, which, reduced to concrete terms, means American money power.

This has on occasion led American public men to feel it to be their duty to address

Europe in language of mingled exhortation and menace, and to suggest visiting the whole continent or individual countries with pains and penalties if the exhortations addressed to them, purely for their own good, are not listened to. Europeans who read these addresses almost invariably regard them as hypocritical. Even Europeans who know America well find it difficult to resist the instinctive temptation to hurl the charge across the ocean and to couple it with a reference to the Eighteenth Amendment.

But Americans are not a nation of hypocrites any more than they are a nation of misers. So far from pretending to be more virtuous or law-abiding than they are, they are apt to run to the opposite extreme and to let all the world know of their lapses from rectitude, whether in the unveiling of scandals in public affairs or in private conviviality. Whether the Eighteenth Amendment has made Americans a nation of law-breakers it is not for an outsider to say. It has certainly not made them a nation of hypocrites. Here again the European, in his ignorance of American conditions, has invented a motive to explain a course of action that passes his understanding.

The Tradition of Admiration

But there is another and more baffling element in the American tradition about Europe. Not all Americans either seek to avert their gaze from Europe or wish to reform her. There is a tradition of admiration.

American admiration of Europe, like American pity and disgust, takes many and complex forms. It runs all the way from an understanding and assimilation of what is precious and permanent in European culture and achievement to blind and servile adulation. Toward the admiration of understanding Europeans feel nothing but gratitude. It is an essential link in the chain of interdependence which unites educated men and women the world over. But the excesses of imitation and snobbishness which too frequently accompany the admiration of the unintelligent are every whit as disagreeable to Europeans as the opposite attitude of superiority. It constitutes another of those unequal relationships which prevent real understanding.

It is not healthy for Americans to regard culture as an exclusively European product,

and it is certainly not healthy for Europeans to be regarded as a perfect model for American manners, American arts and American education. The process is demoralizing on both sides.

No, Europe is not decadent. Neither is America barbarous. Both continents are alive. Both are marching together toward a better future. But they have not yet learned to walk in step.

AN AMERICAN'S OBSERVATIONS

BY CHARLES H. LEVERMORE

[Dr. Levermore was already widely known in America, as an educator and executive director of peace societies, when in 1924 he became a world figure by winning the Bok Prize for the best plan to preserve peace among the nations of the world.—THE EDITOR]

MY RECENT continuous residence in Europe for nearly two and one half years gave me a deep interest in Mr. Simonds's picture—in the February issue of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*—of European hatred of the United States, and in his assertion that the American over there discovers himself to be an "object of quiet disapproval, restrained suspicion, and at least of a degree of ill-natured attention."

Mr. Simonds derives his belief from his personal experience. My own experience has convinced me that the "European Concert" about us is no unison chorus; that there are many Europes in sentiment, and that the friendly and indifferent Europes far outweigh the hostile Europe.

I have been able to study western and southern Europe at short range, and to talk freely with all sorts and conditions of men. I lived in small villages as well as in large cities. My testimony is that I was invariably greeted, as an American, with a smiling welcome, often with kindly hospitality, and never with any discourtesy. Especially in the Scandinavian realms, in Italy, and in Greece I met eager inquiries about the home and business of some friend or relative in "the States." In all these countries there was abundant evidence of well-nigh universal friendliness for the United States, from the prosperous frequenters of the hotel at Siljansborg in Sweden to the Greek boot-blacks in Constitution Square at Athens who greeted me with New York slang and lamented because they could not at once return to Manhattan.

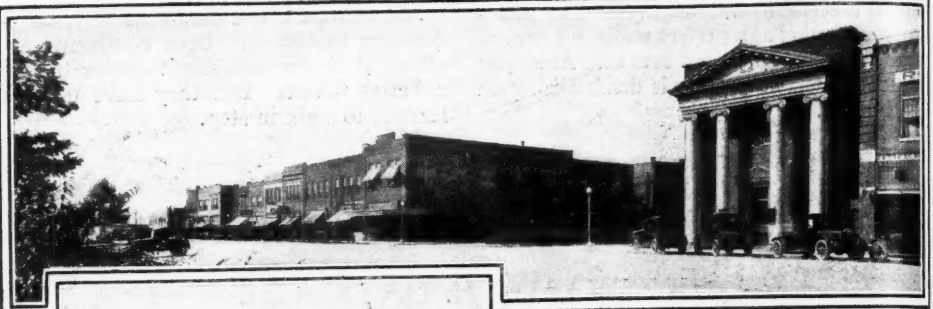
In regions in France that saw the most of our American soldiers during the great war I was pleased to find that the common people remember our boys gladly and

appear to think more highly of our country because of them.

I met people in clubs and big hotels, brokers, journalists, lawyers, and some retired American and British army officers, whose talk was similar to that which echoes throughout Mr. Simonds's article. Twenty-four years ago, when I first went to Europe, I heard speeches in the same spirit in similar places from the same kinds of people. The English Tories have always regarded us with arrogance and contempt. Their counterparts on the Continent have always believed our national character to be framed in mingled bluster and hypocrisy. The fact that we have recently become a creditor nation has undoubtedly sharpened their dislike. But it is nothing new.

Our participation in the great war silenced the cavilers for the moment. But when our withdrawal from Europe set every one free again to speak his real mind, we had no valid reason for surprise that groups and classes, especially in France and Great Britain, who were always distrustful of us, should brandish their old hatchets once more and grind them down to a sharper edge.

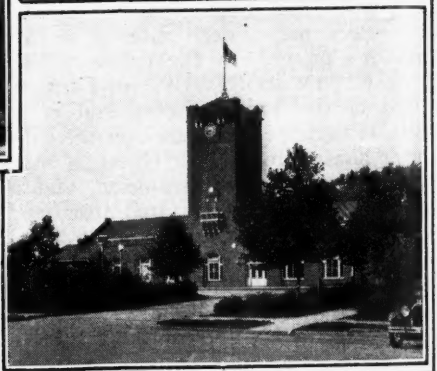
I believe that our withdrawal from the Family Council of Nations was unwise and unnecessary; yet some of the extravagant compliments for a short time showered upon us were obviously based upon misapprehensions and partially selfish hopes. Such adulation from that particular kind of Europe was unnatural and could be only temporary. But I have plenty of evidence in my personal experience that our friends in Europe are numerous. For which reason I submit that Mr. Simonds's conclusions may be too startling, and need some modification.



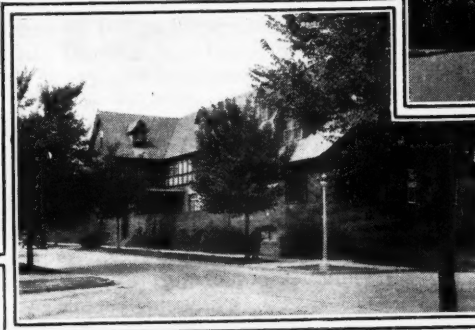
MAIN STREET IN KINGSFORT, OPPOSITE
THE RAILROAD STATION
(Here are the bank, the hotel, and all the stores)



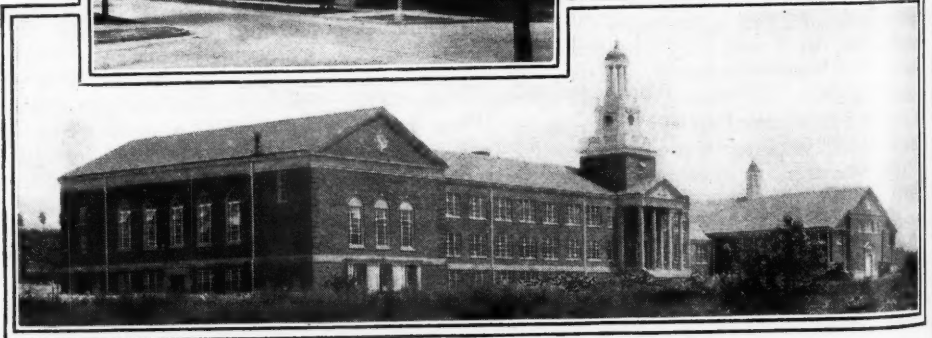
ONE OF SEVERAL CHURCHES GROUPED
AROUND THE CIRCLE



THE RAILROAD STATION



LEFT: THE COMMUNITY HOUSE



THE HIGH SCHOOL—AUDITORIUM AT THE LEFT, GYMNASIUM AT THE RIGHT

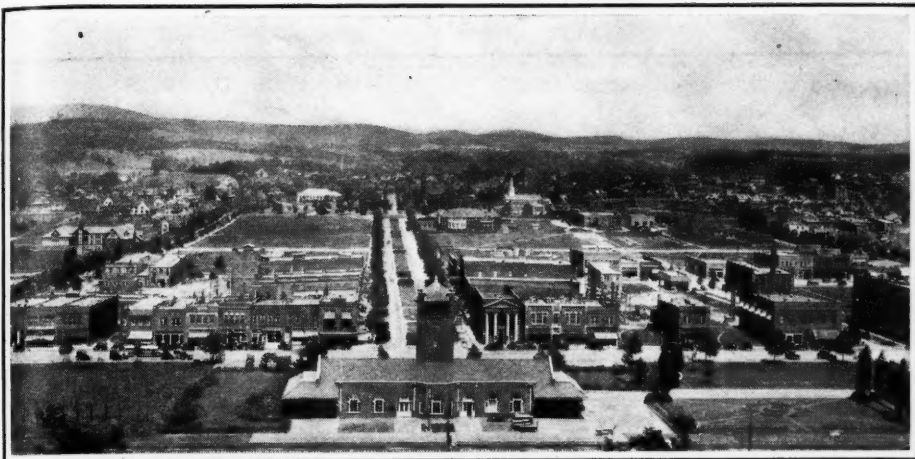
SOME OF THE BUILDINGS OF A PUBLIC NATURE AT KINGSFORT, TENN.

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KINGSPORT, TENNESSEE, AS SEEN FROM THE HILL OVERLOOKING THE RAILROAD STATION, WITH MAIN STREET IN THE FOREGROUND

KINGSPORT, TENNESSEE

AN INDUSTRIAL CITY BUILT TO ORDER

BY JOHN NOLEN

[Mr. John Nolen, the distinguished landscape architect and town planner, is not only the author of the present article but herewith describes what is the embodiment of his own professional effort. A volume from his pen, about to appear, entitled "New Towns for Old," sets forth various recent town-planning achievements, including this chapter on "Kingsport, Tennessee."—THE EDITOR]

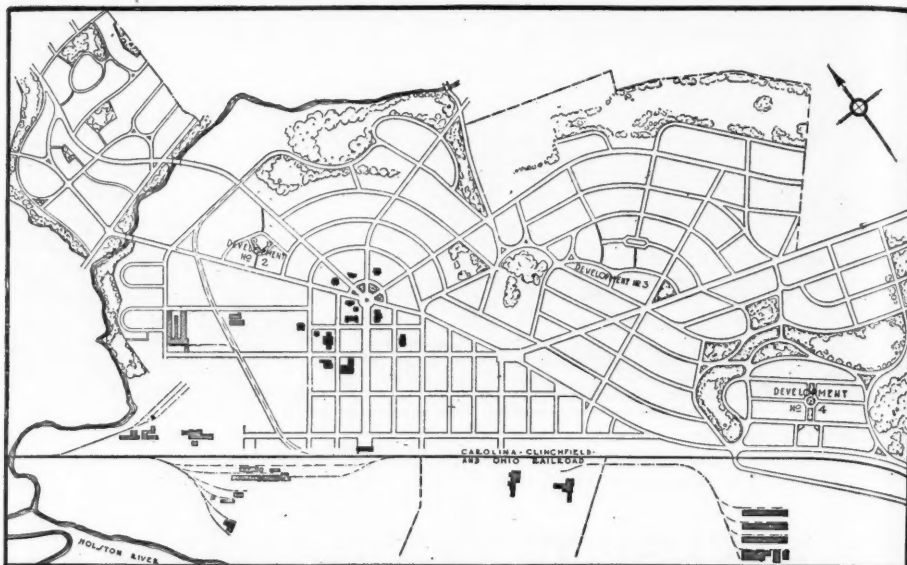
KINGSPORT, Tennessee, is in various respects one of our most remarkable American examples of modern city planning. It began as a new town. Its site, though hardly a wilderness, was an out-of-the-way agricultural region, remote from the world's activities. In 1912 the only human habitations there were two farmhouses. As late as 1915, only a few months after the outbreak of the World War, when it had started to grow in an entirely different way from the course destined for it, it was merely a small agricultural community of about nine hundred inhabitants. In four years more it had become a flourishing city of more than ten thousand people.

Purely a Matter of Business

Yet, unlike so many new populations of phenomenal development that originated about that time, when armies of industrial workers were massed at various points to meet urgent demands, it was not at all a "war baby." Kingsport became what it was simply because a new railroad, built

through an undeveloped region, needed traffic. So a city was built for the sake of making business for the railroad. It could have made no business, however, had the makings of business not been on hand.

The story of it all reads like a romance. In its origin Kingsport was much the sort of town that, early in the eighteen-nineties, often came into being in western Canada, when the great railway undertakings were pushing their way along the prairies and over mountain ranges, across the continent and up into the north. The railroad in question here was the Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio, running from Spartanburg to Elkhorn City through a region in southeastern Tennessee where population was sparse and construction was costly even for that day. Fortunately the country was replete with natural wealth: coal, timber, a great variety of minerals, including sand, clay, limestone, silica, feldspar and kaolin, and other desirable raw materials. There was an excellent water-supply. It was a good agricultural country, little developed.



THE GENERAL PLAN OF KINGSFORT, TENNESSEE, AS LAID OUT BY THE AUTHOR

(The factories—making hosiery, extract, cement, leather products, pulp, brick, dyestuffs, etc.—are located where the map shows gray blocks. The black spots indicate the railroad station, city hall, post-office, court-house, police and fire stations, library, theater, Y. M. C. A., and the inn, those beyond the semicircle being three churches)

Transportation had been lacking to make these things available. But all these materials were valuable for working up into a diversity of manufactured products. With the railroad built, this was made locally possible; it was manifest that, with industries once established, profitable tonnage for the railroad would be produced, while the needs of the town built as the seat of these industries would assure other new business.

The little agricultural community that with the coming of the railroad had sprung up indicated that Kingsport was the proper site for this town. The land was favorable for building—a wide and winding valley of remarkable natural beauty, coursed by the Holston River. Important industries immediately began to establish themselves here, attracted by the favorable conditions. First came a large producer of Portland cement, building up very speedily an extensive business. Others followed, alive to the value of the clay fields and other sources of raw materials. The prospective development assured by these activities promised to be so rapid and extensive that both the railroad company and the heads of the industries decided that continued growth ought to be carefully prepared for. They had the good sense and the good taste

to see that this should be done as thoroughly as possible. So the services of a town planner and of an architect were enlisted in the interest of the project.

Fortunately the community was still in its early stages; the revision and extension of the inadequate scheme prepared by the railroad's engineers proved easily practicable to a degree that gave the town a new and substantial basis for intelligent growth. The result was the development of one of the best-planned industrial communities in the annals of modern town planning—remarkable by reason of the harmonious coöperation of several independent agencies in an achievement that may well be called ideal in the quality of their respective fruitions: industrial, economic, hygienic, civic, cultural and æsthetic. It was primarily a business proposition, undertaken with a common-sense view to profitable returns.

The Development

This harmonious coöperation was made possible by the organization of an effective instrument for the purpose, in the shape of the Kingsport Improvement Corporation. This organization has stood at the head and front of all the basic activities and is responsible for the town. Chartered as a

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commercial venture, it has succeeded phenomenally in all respects. It started right. In it were represented the various business interests mainly concerned, the railroad company and the leading industries. It began its operations with a plan that farsightedly looked to the future. The plan laid down courses of wholesome growth along the lines of least resistance. Looking to community well-being, it forestalled the evils that modern industrial developments otherwise bring in their train as surely as neglected puddles breed mosquitoes.

The Kingsport Improvement Corporation owns most of the real estate; it builds, rents and sells houses; it runs a central power-plant; it established an inn, constructed a golf-course and developed the industries. Local administration rests with a council of five representatives, elected by the citizens every four years. The city charter was designed with the intention of achieving the most efficient results, by the Bureau of Municipal Research established by the Rockefeller Foundation. Under its provisions the council chooses the mayor directly from one of their number and the mayor appoints a city manager with complete control of city work and employees. The manager need not be a resident of the city or State when chosen. The school board, consisting of three men and two women, is appointed by the mayor.

The schools are organized according to the admirable system that originated at Gary, Indiana, generally regarded as a model of its kind. Physical training is an essential feature; to this end each school has four acres of playground in charge of a special instructor.

Public Health and Universal Insurance

A community kept in good health by proper physical training for the young and by the dissemination of popular knowledge of hygienic principles, prospers correspondingly by reason of enhanced earning capacity. A person well and strong is a public asset; a sick person is a public liability. In this regard, Kingsport is unique. A city hospital, thoroughly equipped, is managed by the municipality; it has accommodation for forty patients. In the matter of public hygiene particular stress is given to the importance of preventive measures.

Kingsport's distinction comes still further from employing a type of effort for public

health over and above the usual and customary measures. "Group Insurance" has for some time been an established practice. In this way it is not uncommon for all the workers of an industrial or commercial organization to be insured. But Kingsport offers the first instance whereby the group principle has been applied collectively to all the workers of a city, male and female—with life, health, and accident policies covering them individually, all taken out under an arrangement with a single great insurance company. This is done without previous physical examination.

Practically all the business of Kingsport is conducted by nine large industrial concerns: the Kingsport Hosiery Mill; the Kingsport Extract Corporation; the Kingsport Tannery, Incorporated; the Clinchfield Portland Cement Corporation; the Kingsport Pulp Corporation; the Kingsport Stores, Incorporated; the Kingsport Farms Corporation; the Kingsport Brick Company the Kingsport Utility Company. To these must be added the municipality, itself an employer. In order to include the city employees in the scheme of blanket insurance, special legislation had to be obtained.

The Kingsport Improvement Corporation, in which all these undertakings are represented, and whose president and moving spirit is J. Fred Johnson, realized, in the words of A. M. Kingman, that living conditions greatly affect the morale of a town, and that general contentment and the elimination of worries go far toward producing the spirit so necessary to the accomplishment of good work. Men who are worried because they have sick children at home, and men and women who can not make ends meet because they have lost wages through sickness or accident, are prone to become discontented and make trouble. Improper housing, insufficient amusement, lack of care in illness, poor food—all these things tend to lower industrial efficiency. Mr. Johnson and the men working with him saw that Kingsport alone could not provide the means of making itself the city they want it to be. So they decided on the insurance plan, whereby, in reality, they formed a partnership with the life-insurance company for the purpose of bringing Kingsport up to their expectations.

Each employing corporation sent out to its employees a statement setting forth the general plan of the insurance. This statement announced that an arrangement

had been made with a life insurance company for life, health and accident insurance for each employee who was at work on the previous July 1, the insurance becoming automatically effective from that date. The entire cost of this insurance was borne by the employing corporation. The insurance company regards the Kingsport undertaking as of great value as a demonstration of what may very widely be done. "We propose to show the nation," it says, "what it is possible to accomplish in the preservation of health and life in an intelligent community when the proper steps are taken."

Housing Activities

The administration of housing activities by the Improvement Corporation has produced results that make Kingsport, in the quiet beauty and charm of its residence sections, compare favorably with some of the celebrated model communities in England. Mr. Clinton Mackenzie, the architect, has made his work seem a natural outgrowth of the plan. The dwellings range in size from four to eight rooms. A six-room house is rented at \$25 a month. A man may buy his home for a moderate cash payment, with subsequent installments through a period of fifteen years. The Improvement Corporation sells the houses at cost, plus 6 per cent. The purchaser gets a finished house with tastefully planted grounds. A trained woman landscape architect gives all her time to the planting of shrubs and trees. The highest-grade houses, designed for the higher-salaried employees, cost between \$9,000 and \$10,000. This means more than the average in value, owing to the production of so much of the building material in the neighborhood. In some of the houses, as an experiment, the kitchen has been located in the front; the mother can thus keep an eye on her children at play outdoors and enjoy the sight of what is passing; it is also convenient for the delivery of supplies.

Construction Materials Locally Produced— Coöperative Team Work

The extensive production of Portland cement at Kingsport has greatly reduced local building costs. The city has wide concrete sidewalks and several miles of broad concrete-paved streets. The cost of this concrete pavement was only \$1.35 a square yard. Other locally produced building materials are proportionately cheap.

Under a scheme of coöperative team work, devised by experts, an enormous prevention of industrial waste has been effected. One factory supplies another. The industrial alcohol plant, the dye-works, and the pulp mill, all get their needed lime from the cement works. The tannery supplies the harness factory with leather; the tannery gets its needed extract from the extract plant, which turns its chips over to the pulp mill. Building materials are supplied to all the local industries by the cement and brick works; the Utilities Company supplies power and water. The Dye Company supplies the Hosiery Company with dye and the Pulp Company with bleaching powder. Furthermore, expansion plans for new industries have been worked out: a fertilizer plant to utilize the regional deposits of potash and phosphate and the tannery refuse; a packing-house to stimulate cattle raising and produce fertilizer material. The wood-alcohol plant's charcoal is to be used in a charcoal iron furnace.

A most gratifying outcome of all these activities that have built Kingsport into an almost ideal industrial city is the intelligent and public-spirited interest in community affairs shown by the exceptionally capable working population, which realizes that it has a stake of its own in it all.

The Community and the Plan

The region where Kingsport stands lies 1300 feet above sea level, in a fertile agricultural country. The climate is equable. The site is equally well adapted to good residential and industrial life, under urban as well as rural conditions. The white population is at present entirely native American, of what is commonly termed Anglo-Saxon stock. Neither inter-racial nor international difficulties have yet presented themselves to complicate the community's social and political scheme.

The plan gives due consideration to the colored population, which, being uncommonly high-class and industrious, is esteemed accordingly. Appreciating the value of the colored element in the local labor situation, Kingsport aims to counteract the tendency to migrate to the North by developing its colored section in marked contrast to the squalid "Nigger-town" districts all too common in Southern communities. Here the colored people have had comfortable houses built for them, with modern improvements. In this sec-

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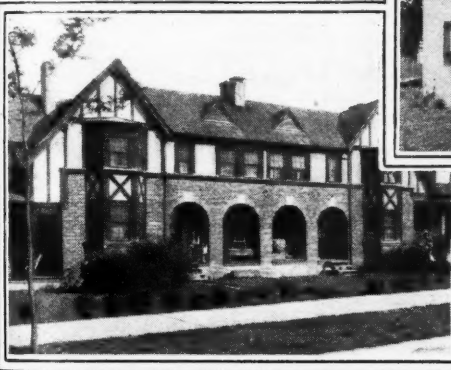
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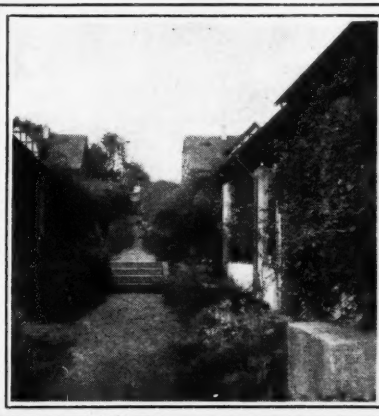
SMALL COTTAGES, BUILT IN 1924, AND
COSTING \$2,100 EACH IN ADDITION TO
THE LOT



ABOVE AND BELOW ARE INTERESTING
TREATMENTS OF SLOPING GROUND



THE SMALL, ROW TYPE OF HOUSE, IN GROUPS



A SIDEWALK WITHOUT
ROADWAY, BETWEEN
GROUPS OF HOUSES

(In laying out Kingsport, Mr.
John Nolen, of Cambridge,
Mass., town planner, and
Mr. Clinton Mackenzie, of
New York, architect, worked
in collaboration)



HILL-TOP HOUSES OF MORE PRETENTIOUS DIMENSIONS

RESIDENTIAL SECTIONS IN THE MODEL TOWN OF KINGSFORT, TENN.

(Clinton Mackenzie, Architect)

tion the playgrounds, schoolhouses and churches have been planned for in ways commensurate with the advanced standards set for the rest of the community.

One of the first steps taken for the development of the site was the division of the new city into well-recognized zones for the several forms of use. This was done according to the enlightened modern practise now recognized by recent legislation in several States of the Union. Areas were thus allotted respectively to factories and industrial plants, to wholesale trade, to retail trade, to residences, and to public buildings, schools, parks and playgrounds.

Industrial development and housing accommodations were the two main factors.

The manufacturing plants thus far located occupy districts where they cause the least annoyance for the public, while securing the maximum industrial efficiency both as regards transit accommodation and availability to the homes of the workers. The residential tracts are kept away from the smoke, dust, noise and danger of the industrial plants. In general, the broad streets with good paving for vehicular and pedestrian movement proclaim something unusual in workmen's surroundings. Each street, planted with shade trees, offers to the section where the working classes live, a restful seclusion that is commonly a feature of only the higher-class residential districts of an industrial community.

GASOLINE AND CIGARETTES

IN FEBRUARY, 1919, just eight years ago, the State of Oregon imposed a consumer's tax of 1 cent a gallon on gasoline. Here was a new source of revenue, and any legislator will tell you that new sources of State revenue are hard to discover.

The idea caught and spread like the traditional wild fire. Three States adopted a gasoline tax that same year; by 1921 it had been seized upon by the legislatures of thirteen others; and by 1923 it was law in thirty-five States. Only Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Illinois have been able to resist the onslaught. It is a safe gamble that some, or all of the four, will surrender at the present legislative session to the advocates of a gasoline tax.

In the beginning the prevailing rate was 1 cent a gallon. Then the pioneer State raised its tax, first to 2 cents and then to 3. Now the rate is 3 cents or more in twenty States, the maximum being 5 (in Kentucky and South Carolina), and the average 2.69.

In the first year the new tax yielded \$664,000; in 1924, \$80,000,000. Last year it brought into State treasuries the impressive total of \$192,000,000.

What, then, may one expect ultimately from another proposal which comes out of the South and West, for a State tax on the sale of cigarettes?

Few cigarette smokers know that they pay an indirect tax, to Uncle Sam, amounting to 6 cents on each package of twenty. Last year that tax alone yielded \$268,444,648 to the Treasury, and the total revenue from all kinds of tobacco was \$371,677,583, or more than a million dollars a day.

In 1914—to pick out a year that all can remember—the country manufactured 17 billion cigarettes. In 1926 the number was 80 billion. Within twelve years, that is, our use of cigarettes has grown nearly five-fold. Not all of this huge increase can be accounted for by the fact that young women of the educated class have become fond of the weed.

Uncle Sam's revenue from smokers was 80 million dollars in 1915, and 371 millions in 1926. Before the war the tax was \$1.25 per thousand cigarettes, while now it is \$3.

No wonder that State legislators look on hungrily at so rich a source of taxation so cheerfully paid! At the present moment the four States of Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and South Dakota place a tax (in addition to the Government's levy) on cigarettes. In Arkansas it amounts to 20 per cent., in Georgia it is 10 per cent. But a State imposition on cigarettes is not as easy to collect as a gasoline tax, for tobacco can be ordered and delivered by mail from outside.

It is interesting to note that Kansas, which has long prohibited the sale of cigarettes, last month lifted the ban—and at the same time placed a 2-cent tax on each package sold.

CANBERRA: AUSTRALIA'S NEW CAPITAL

BY SIR HENRY LUNN

[Our readers will be interested in the following description of Australia's plans for a new capital, now well advanced, written by Sir Henry Lunn. This eminent Englishman visited Australia on his journey around the world last year, and his experiences are graphically narrated in a volume compiled from his day-by-day diary of the journey, entitled "Around the World with a Dictaphone."—THE EDITOR]

IT IS an eight-hours' railway journey from Sydney to Queanbeyan and then a motor run of twelve miles to Canberra, the made-to-order capital of the Australian Commonwealth.

The climate is much colder than that of Sydney. Canberra is 2,000 feet above the sea, and May here is equivalent to the end of November in Europe, so that at that altitude we were not surprised to find it rather chilly.

The federal territory of Canberra comprises an approximate area of one thousand square miles, all of which is administered by the three commissioners appointed by the government. In this respect they have followed the precedent of the District of Columbia, which was carved out of the States as a separate territory, and is administered by three commissioners, but the District of Columbia, originally a hundred square miles, now has an area of only seventy square miles.

Canberra is being founded as a way out of the rivalry of Melbourne and Sydney. It was agreed that the territory should be taken out of the state of New South Wales. It was one of the bargains which induced the free trade state, New South Wales, to enter into a protected Commonwealth.

It was not until 1908 that the act was finally passed by which this territory was agreed upon. In addition to the 900 square miles or more in the vicinity of Canberra, there is also an area of 2,302 acres at Jervis Bay for the purpose of a Commonwealth port, which is under the same commissioners. Canberra is situated 204 miles from Sydney, 429 miles from Melbourne, 912 miles from Adelaide, and 929 miles from Brisbane. It is, therefore, nearly equidistant from the chief centers of

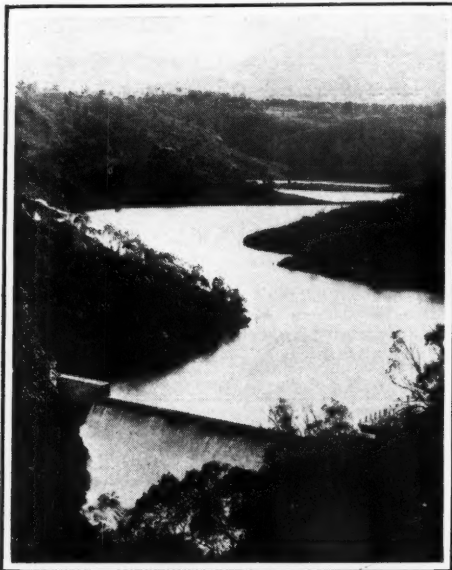


W. BURLEY GRIFFIN, THE CHICAGO ARCHITECT WHO LAID OUT THE AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL

(A world-wide competition was won by Mr. Griffin, in 1912, and he was invited to Australia to superintend the work. He has remained there ever since, though severing his connection with the enterprise after eight years)

population in the continent. It is separated by a distance of twenty miles from the main dividing range between the eastern coast of Australia and the rivers that empty themselves into the Murray.

The site is admirably chosen, bounded by mountains in each direction. The Molonglo River flows through the site in a westerly direction and joins the Queanbeyan River at that town, seven miles from Canberra—twelve miles by road, and at



THE COTTER RIVER, DAMMED TO CREATE A WATER SUPPLY

present five miles by rail. A new road is being constructed which will be about the same length as the railway.

The city will lie in an amphitheater of hills in large areas of gently undulating country. The great tributary of the Murray, the Murrumbidgee, flows through the territory, but the main river which supplies water is the Cotter River.

The rainfall of Canberra is about the same as that of Melbourne and London. The mean annual temperature is about 55 degrees, the summer mean being about 68 degrees and the winter 42, so that it may be regarded as a temperate climate.

The government of the territory has followed the lines of the government of the District of Columbia, where three commissioners are appointed, the three commissioners being, in the case of Canberra, J. H. Butters (chairman), Sir John Harrison, and C. H. Gorman.

This commission only assumed control on January 1, 1925, and has done an immense amount of work since that date. Mr. Butters is an engineer; Sir John Harrison is expert in building and the carrying out of contracts for that work, and Mr. Gorman is the surveyor.

The Parliament Building is to be opened by the Duke of York early in May. The architecture is plain and obviously eco-

nomical, the intention being to erect what is called a "temporary building," but it is a building that will last one hundred years, without showing any signs of decay. The idea is, at a later date, to build the permanent Houses of Parliament behind the present Parliament House at a higher level overlooking it, and to use the present structure for government offices, but the general opinion is that the present building will be used as a Parliament for at least half a century.

The Senate Chamber and the Chamber for the House of Representatives are large enough for double the number of members that now constitute the Federal Parliament.

From the roof of the building a good view could be obtained of the whole district which will be the city district.

The Australians have not made the mistake that the Americans made, of allowing a lot of freehold property within the Federal district. The whole area is absolutely under the control of the commissioners, and, although they are granting ninety-nine years' leases, they require their approval for the plans of any buildings that are constructed, so that a certain general character shall be maintained.

In Washington, Pennsylvania Avenue, which ought to be one of the finest streets in the world, connecting as it does the Capitol and the White House, is disfigured by many small buildings, which ought never to have been permitted. In this new city, which will spring up within a quarter of a century, the architecture will be required to be generally harmonious.

The commissioners realize to the full

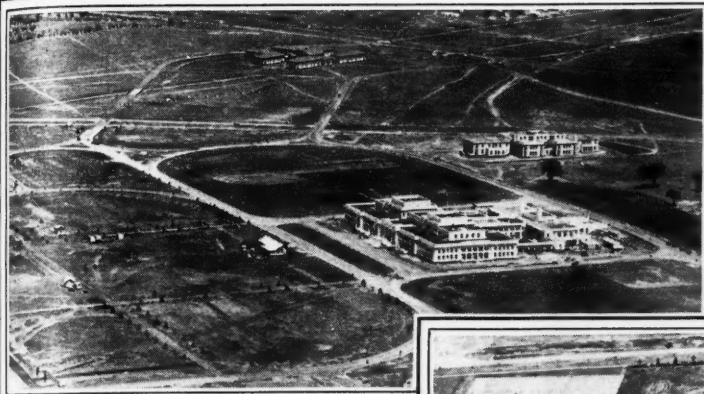


THE LOCATION OF CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA'S NEW CAPITAL

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PARLIAMENT HOUSE, AND A GLIMPSE OF THE ARCHITECT'S PLAN FOR A NEW CITY

(Construction of the building was begun in January, three years ago, and the first Australian Parliament will sit here in May. Canberra is to be a garden city, but so far attention has been given only to the completion of basic engineering services, necessary buildings and main avenues. Works of an ornamental character have been deferred)



HOTEL CANBERRA

(Most of the buildings, or wings, are one story, the remainder only two. The whole is laid out on a plan that insures a maximum of sunlight and air in all the rooms. There are accommodations for 200 guests here, with three other hotels completed or authorized. In Canberra, designs for all buildings are governed by regulations)



THE FUTURE HOME OF AUSTRALIA'S PRIME MINISTER



THE NEW RESIDENCE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA, A CAPITAL CITY MADE TO ORDER

AIRPLANE VIEWS MAKE CANBERRA SEEM FLAT AND UNINTERESTING

(But the city is situated on the Molongo River surrounded by mountains)



THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF YORK, WHO IN MAY WILL OPEN THE FIRST PARLIAMENT TO MEET AT CANBERRA

(This photograph was taken while the royal couple were passing through the Panama Canal in January, on the battleship Renown. The Duke is the second son of King George, now married nearly four years)

how great is their opportunity to make a beautiful city, and they will probably be able with their great powers to control the development of the city on the lines which they planned. In the case of Washington it was intended that the city should be within a series of concentric circles with radiating avenues as the spokes of a wheel. Unfortunately the government had no power to decide how the city should develop. The population decided not to build a circular city, but a half-circle, so that the Capitol, instead of being the center of the city, is the center of the diameter of a half-circle.

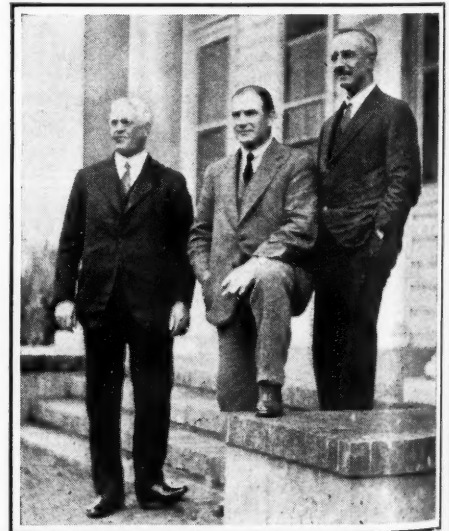
In the case of Canberra the commissioners have decided that one district shall be industrial. There are already being erected large laundries and the other buildings of an industrial character that are necessary in a great residential city. They will have full power to prevent any manufactures arising within the city that would lessen its amenities and disfigure the scenery. In another part of the city altogether it is intended to cultivate the

development of large residences. In yet another part houses are built of a rental at present of 22s. 6d. to 30s. for workmen and minor officials. I believe I am correct in saying that no workman gets less than about five guineas a week. In yet another section of the city a military cadet college has already been planned, and in another quarter there will be a large university founded, which will attract, no doubt, a considerable number of families, and will furnish opportunities for education to the children of the leading civilians and the members of the two Houses of Parliament.

Canberra being a garden city, the planting of trees and shrubs is being carried out on very careful lines. The streets and avenues are to be planted with every possible care. A certain amount of afforestation work is going on in the outskirts of the city. Pretty parks and belts of trees for shelter have both been planted.

The number of employees now controlled by the commissioners amounts to 3,400, and this is the main population of the territory at present.

I was much interested to find that Mr. Butters was an ardent supporter of church union, not because of any strong ecclesiastical views of his own, but because the rival sects are giving him a great deal of trouble in their demands for sites for cathedrals, halls and churches.



COMMISSIONERS OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL

(The Chief Commissioner, J. H. Butters, stands in the center. At the left is Sir John Harrison, and at the right is Clarence H. Gorman)

THE WORLD'S FARMERS GET TOGETHER

BY KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

(President of the Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science)

THE habit of international coöperation is being acquired. Whatever may be the fate of a scheme of political coöperation like that of the League of Nations, or a plan for judicial coöperation like that of the World Court, means by which representatives of different races and nationalities are actually endeavoring to iron out misunderstandings and to forward coöperative enterprises are growing apace.

The rural aspect of this new habit is not much noted and, indeed, is very recent. But it is coming and it is important.

Its latest venture is the organization of the International Commission on Country Life, which last year held an international conference in Brussels. The beginnings of the Association were made in Brussels a year ago, but this conference was virtually the first of its kind in the world where a definite call had been issued and various countries were officially represented. The meeting brought together representatives of some eleven or twelve nations, including a delegation of about a dozen from the United States. The program dealt largely with the relation of the home, of the school, and of the community associations to the development of better country life.

The organization is designed to federate all activities in the broad field of country life on an international basis. The scope of country life as defined by the American Country Life Association is practically accepted—that is, country life includes health, recreation, local government, education, social institutions in general, morals, and even religion. Its advocates are interested in the economic aspects of agriculture chiefly as they affect quality of life and the problem of living together in the local community.

The conference accepted an invitation to meet in America this year and the present

plan is for both the International Country Life Commission and the American Country Life Association to hold conventions simultaneously at the Michigan State College at East Lansing, about midsummer.

One of the more important subjects discussed at the conference in Brussels was the possibility of formulating a plan or program for the maximum development of the local rural community which should be applicable all over the world. This is a rather ambitious program but one of vital significance, because the success with which a community can meet the tests of rural progress is perhaps the one inclusive common issue in rural development the world over. A committee was appointed to see what could be done toward making such a plan.

International Coöperation in Agriculture

Other interesting efforts are under way in the field of international coöperation in agriculture. What was probably the first International Conference on Agriculture was held in 1889, and there has been an international conference every year since, except during the war. This conference has been largely European. It has brought together public officials, but to a larger extent representatives of various coöperative agricultural societies, to discuss common problems.

In 1905, there was set up in Rome the International Institute of Agriculture, which is virtually an agricultural League of Nations. It is governmental in character and was organized by treaty. It now has some fifty-five nations adhering. The biennial assembly of the Institute brings together representatives of the different nations to discuss the more general questions involved in policies of the Institute.

A recent endeavor to bring together representatives of real farmers and real

farm organizations consists in an International Agricultural Commission which had a meeting last spring and will hold another meeting in Rome in the early summer of 1927. While certain experts will be invited to join, the power of this commission will lie in representatives of farmers' organizations in the various countries.

The International Labor Office at Geneva is undertaking a considerable amount of investigation in the field of agricultural labor. It has defined agricultural labor broadly to include the working peasant farmer, and its interest in the agricultural laborer thus defined goes quite beyond the sphere of wages or income and includes all of the factors that make for the advantage or disadvantage of the laborer.

Better Farming, Better Living

Another international enterprise in this field is the Horace Plunkett Foundation, established some years ago by Sir Horace Plunkett, the great Irish leader, who now for forty years has been one of the world's rural prophets. The Foundation deals largely with English-speaking countries and perhaps more immediately with the various nationalities of the British Commonwealth. Sir Horace has given a considerable part of his fortune to this Foundation, whose purpose is mainly to secure the collective activity of governments and of the farmers themselves in applying the famous Irish formula developed many years ago as a definition of the rural problem, "Better farming, better business, better living." The collateral thesis is that in order to secure both better farming and better living, the farmers must pursue better business methods, by which is meant chiefly the coöperative or collective method of buying and selling, of credit and insurance. The Foundation thus solidly rests upon a correct view of the rural question, and is a monument both to the generosity and the foresight of its founder.

In addition to these large general enterprises affecting international coöperation in agriculture, there is rapidly developing a series of associations and conferences dealing with special aspects of agriculture, such as international congresses on soil sciences, on forestry, on plant diseases, and so on.

It is doubtful if people generally realize the importance of all of these endeavors. It must be remembered, however, that agriculture is not only the world's largest

industry but that it is the most fundamental and vital. Until the time when the dim prophecies of science in the production of synthetic foods are realized, the farmers' contribution to society is a primary one.

The Vastness of Rural Populations

Agriculture also involves the largest element of the world's population. Probably out of the billion and three-quarters of the people living in the world, at least one billion live and make their living on the land.

Again, the rural people of the world are rapidly coming into new power. This is perhaps best exemplified in eastern Europe, where not only in Russia but all through the Balkans and in some other States, the peasants have virtual possession of the land that once belonged to great landlords. This new possession not only gives them great economic power but tremendous political prestige. Students of Russian history, for example, usually wind up by saying that, in the long run, the peasant will determine Russia's civilization and political policies.

The potential influence of the world's rural people in a controlled civilization is beyond imagination. If they have adequate intelligence and education, if they combine their forces nationally and internationally, they will have almost the decisive word with regard to national policies as well as concerning world coöperation and organization.

Furthermore, it is quite possible that we may develop a distinctive rural culture as a phase of advancing civilization. There are such things as a rural way of life, a rural mode of thought, and a specific rural community consciousness. If we can give to these local communities modern mechanical conveniences that reduce the severer aspects of toil, and keep the rural folk in touch with world influences through organization and continuing education, we may find that they will make a real contribution.

The influence of all of these international endeavors will be determined, in the long run, not merely by the significance of the industry of agriculture and of the rural populations, but also by the importance which international coöperation is to play in the life of the world. There can be no doubt that the very existence of these international efforts in the rural field is an expression of a growing conviction of the importance and, indeed, of the absolute necessity of gaining the habit of international coöperation.

A PROPHET OF RURAL LIFE

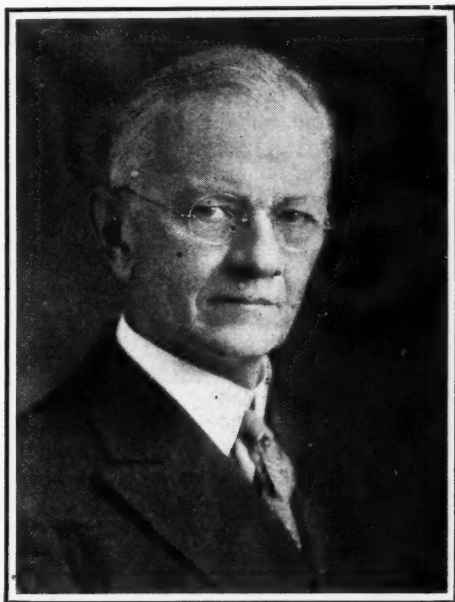
BY JOHN D. WILLARD

(Director of Department of Continuing Education, Michigan State College)

KENYON LEECH BUTTERFIELD, president of the Michigan State College, is a prophet of rural life, as Liberty Hyde Bailey is its philosopher and poet. His vision is of a rural civilization permanently satisfying to intelligent and progressive people, in which a sound agriculture is the basis of an amplified and enriched country life. When the agricultural world was absorbed in effort to increase production, he was the prophet of research in marketing and agricultural economics. When material prosperity was heralded as the only requisite for a rural Utopia, he was the protagonist of research and planning for a more satisfying home and community life. He has ever insisted that rural problems can be solved only by the concerted effort of rural people under leadership developed from their ranks. President Butterfield is accused by critics of being an idealist, to which accusation he readily pleads guilty. There is nothing of the opportunist in his make-up. Yet he is an intensely practical idealist. He builds plans into the future on the basis of studied need, present trend, known limitation; and then persistently works toward the realization of his ideal.

Dr. Butterfield was born on a farm in Lapeer, Michigan, June 11, 1868, the son of Ira H. and Olive Davison Butterfield. Both his parents had been school teachers. His father was for a generation connected with the supervision and work of the State Fair and the State College. His grandfather served in the State legislature. The atmosphere of rural life, public service and educational ambitions in which his boyhood was spent is transmuted into the dynamic ideal of his later life and achievement.

Graduating from the Michigan State College in 1891, Kenyon Butterfield became editor of the *Grange Visitor* in 1892. He was superintendent of Farmers' Institutes in Michigan from 1895 to 1899, serv-



PRESIDENT KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

ing as college field agent and Grange editor of the *Michigan Farmer* at the same time. After receiving the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Michigan in 1902, he became instructor in that institution, teaching the first course in the United States to bear the name Rural Sociology and for the first time giving recognition to Rural Sociology as a definable field. In 1903 the Rhode Island State College called him to its presidency.

He became president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College in 1906 when the student body numbered little more than 200 and the annual appropriation from the legislature for the support of the institution was less than \$50,000. During the eighteen years of his administration the student body and faculty trebled in size, a new and modern college plant was developed, research and teaching were brought

to a high standard of effectiveness, the extension service in agriculture and home economics was developed from nothing to a full-time staff of sixty, and legislative support increased from less than \$50,000 to more than \$900,000 per annum.

In 1924 the Michigan State College, his alma mater, extended a call to the presidency, which he accepted. As in Massachusetts, he assumed responsibility when the institution was disorganized. Order has emerged, the problems caused by sudden increase in student body are currently met, and a splendid morale is evident.

It is difficult to fix the point at which the leader and builder began to emerge. Ray Stannard Baker, a classmate, has written of his college days that "where two or three men were gathered together, Kenyon Butterfield was inevitably elected president." He was not content to conduct the *Grange Visitor*, his first professional responsibility, as a traditional paper. It was to him a priceless opportunity to set new goals for the country folk of Michigan, both in technical agriculture and in the breadth and satisfaction of country living. He began during this period to explore fundamental needs and opportunities in country life, to bring these to clear and forceful expression, and particularly to forecast ways and means by which the people of the country might work out their own economic and social salvation.

While serving as superintendent of farmers' institutes Dr. Butterfield not only developed the system to a state-wide service and the technique of conducting institutes to a fine art, but he sensed the need for a more permanent, professional and intimate kind of teaching service for the business of agriculture. In 1898 he formulated and presented to the college board a plan for an extension service, which anticipated by seven years the appointment in 1905 of the first State director of agricultural extension.

Speaking before the American Association of Land Grant Colleges in 1904, Butterfield—then president of Rhode Island State College—delivered a significant paper which portrayed the future agricultural college as rendering service in three fields—resident teaching, research and extension. In 1905 the association created a committee of which he was chairman to study and report on a system of extension education. Reports were made by the committee annually,

until in 1909 a bill providing federal aid to a system of county agents was introduced in the House by Rep. J. C. McLaughlin of Michigan. Though entangled with other bills and much modified, the essentials of the bill were enacted in 1914 as the Smith-Lever Act, which has resulted in the most effective system of extension education the world has ever known; a system reaching into every State and employing over four thousand professionally trained county agents and specialists.

President Roosevelt in 1908 appointed Dr. Butterfield as one of the American Country Life Commission. In 1913 President Wilson appointed him to the American Commission on Agricultural Credits and Coöperation. In 1919 he was again called to Europe as a member of the American Educational Commission, to take charge of vocational education for the army in France; for which service the Republic of France conferred on him the titles and decorations of Officer of Public Instruction and Officer of Agricultural Excellence. In 1921-2 the associated Protestant mission boards called Dr. Butterfield to China to represent agricultural and industrial education in a commission which studied the entire Chinese educational problem. At the close of the study he not only reported to the boards on the field assigned to him, but also prepared a special report on agricultural education at the request of the Peking government.

Dr. Butterfield has served as president, chairman, or director in many local, State and national organizations dealing with education, civics and social welfare. He was the principal force in organizing the American Country Life Association and the World Agriculture Society, and has been president of both since they were first organized. Amherst College and the Rhode Island State College have both conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. As a writer he is a constant contributor to periodical and bulletin literature and is the author of several books, in the list of which are "Chapters in Rural Progress," "The Country Church and the Rural Problem," "The Farmer and the New Day," and "A Christian Program for the Rural Community."

A deeply religious vein and a keen sense of humor combine in a personality that radiates a healthy philosophy of life. Dr. Butterfield's counsel has been salutary

because of his keen sense of the balance that must be preserved between things material and things spiritual, and because of his insistence that the rural problem must be recognized in its entirety. Probably no American has made larger and more con-

structive contributions to the understanding of fundamental problems in rural life. Beyond question President Butterfield is the American authority best known and recognized throughout the world in matters of agricultural education and country life.

THE MAN WHO "OREGONIZED" NEW HAMPSHIRE

BY HENRY BAILEY STEVENS

IN AN age when discouragement over the farmer and faultfinding with the younger generation have been general, Dr. Ralph D. Hetzel has achieved success largely through his belief in both. The new president of Pennsylvania State College took up his job there in January of this year after a remarkable career founded on optimism in New Hampshire, where this quality is supposed to be rarer than in any other State except perhaps Vermont.

The day of the "sad young men" and the downhearted tiller of the soil has had little in common with President Hetzel. For nine years—since 1917—he has been preaching on the rocky soil of New England a gospel which, while not exactly comparable to that of the typical Western booster, has been no less lacking in determined faith.

In the State of Pinchot and Vare he now steps into the position vacated by Dr. J. M. Thomas, who left Penn State last year to become president of Rutgers University.

Only nineteen years ago Ralph Hetzel, tall, handsome and full of healthy spirit, graduated from Wisconsin Law School. As a student he had been oarsman, football and baseball player, class president, debater and editor; and he showed a similar versatility when he started his career at Oregon State College. His success in teaching both English and political science attracted the attention of the authorities, who did not hesitate in 1913 to put him in a new field and make him director of the agricultural extension service. In four years he built up an organization for the benefit of the farmers of the State that had few equals in the country for efficiency. When the trustees of the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts



DR. RALPH D. HETZEL, THE NEW PRESIDENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE

were looking about for a president, somebody suggested a young man from the West. Hetzel was selected in spite of the fact that he was only thirty-four years of age.

The usual criteria for measuring a college president in these days are enrollments and finances. It is, perhaps, on this basis that Dr. Hetzel is credited with success in New England; but it is obvious that there must be some causal power to achieve such results. A good deal of the power in this case has been the young president's faith in hopes that looked forlorn. In a land where the farms were run mostly by old men, he pointed out the opportunities for youth. He discounted the rocks and em-

phasized the near-by markets. Boston and the mill cities of New England would have been godsend to the farmers of the Pacific Coast, who had to ship their produce across a continent, and none knew this better than he.

One other cheerful heresy he also sponsored with all his might—the importance of a State or “people’s” college in a modern democracy. The old endowed colleges of New England had been looked up to for a century as the only institutions of higher learning worthy of the name. Full to capacity, they did not offer opportunities for enough young people without a pocket-book, believed Dr. Hetzel. The less-favored classes had awakened to the value of a college education, and it was his judgment that the State should encourage them in their hopes. Such doctrine, long familiar to the Middle West, had built up the State colleges of that section, and he had faith that the formula would succeed in New England.

In a few years not only were the young people of New Hampshire responding to this assurance in such numbers as to double the enrollment, but the idea was spreading throughout New England States. Requests for admittance to the institution from other States grew to a point in 1925 where the New Hampshire Legislature felt that it had to set up a percentage limit in self-defense. To-day the University of New Hampshire—for, through Dr. Hetzel’s efforts, the broader title was given it—has an enrollment of 1400; and its cramped and pinched quarters are being expanded through a definitely planned building program, financed by a State tax of a mill on every dollar of taxable property—another idea borrowed from the West. As somebody once put it, Hetzel “Oregonized” New Hampshire.

The material expansion, however, is, as in most cases, not the remarkable thing. There is a new spirit, a new attitude. Young people are daring to plunge into apples and poultry, and—to change the metaphor—are actually finding gold. On

the other hand, if their desires run to engineering or to studies in liberal arts, they are able to attend the State University at a cost within their reach. The farming people of the State are looking aggressively upon their city markets. At certain seasons of the year New York now gets more of its broilers from New Hampshire than from any other State, whereas a few years ago the Manhattan chicken-dealers had hardly heard of the commonwealth. At the New York fruit show recently New Hampshire Baldwins were challenging the apple world to produce as good, and no takers appeared. Of course many other factors have entered into this new spirit, but the quiet assurance of President Hetzel has been an important influence.

“The day of cheap land in the West has gone,” he has told audiences throughout New England, breaking away from his desk to carry this message. “Farmers on the Pacific Coast have to pay high prices for soil on which to grow crops 3,000 miles from market. Here we have cheap land, and are only a stone’s throw from the best markets in the world. Could young blood ask for a better opportunity?”

Dr. Hetzel is a member of the executive committee of the American Association of Land Grant Colleges, served as manager of State food production and conservation work in New Hampshire during the war, was the first chairman of the committee on survey and development of resources of New Hampshire, and has been a member of the committee on standards of the American Council of Education as well as president of the New England Athletic Conference. He was given the degree of Doctor of Laws by Dartmouth College in 1918 and by the University of Maine in 1924.

It will be interesting to watch his progress in Pennsylvania. He has a way of disarming even foes with a frank faith and courage, and of finding friends in all sorts of camps. I would venture to predict that, if they could spend a day together in his office, even Pinchot and Vare would find some common bond.

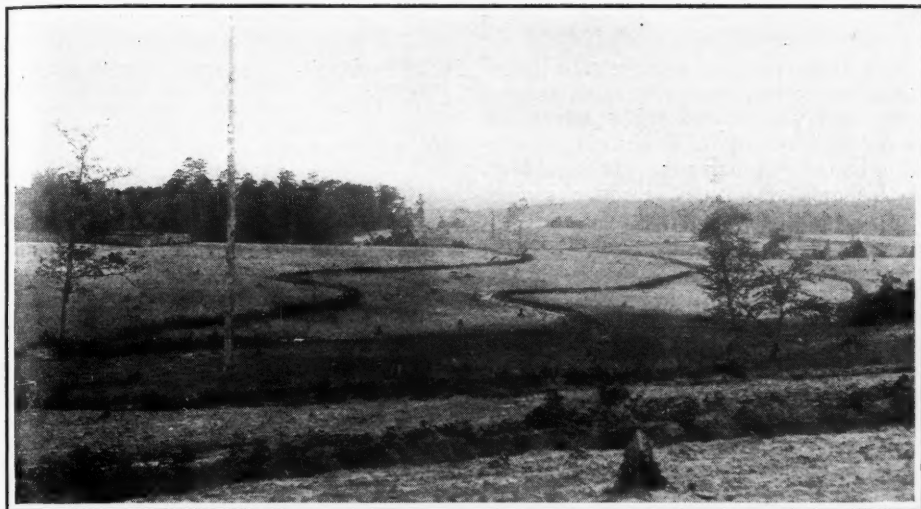


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TERRACES CONSTRUCTED TO PREVENT THE WASHING AWAY OF FERTILE SOIL

(This field in the Piedmont region of the South has been in cultivation nearly 100 years; yet it is in a locality where erosion is extremely ruinous on unprotected slopes. It was saved by terracing the slopes)

SOIL CONSERVATION

BY HUGH HAMMOND BENNETT

(Bureau of Soils, Department of Agriculture)

RECENTLY there have appeared in the back pages of the press and technical journals some comments relating to a progressive impoverishment of agricultural land in the United States. An estimated annual net loss of 5,800,000,000 pounds of plant food, taken out of the soil by the crops removed, has led to the conclusion that such figures are disturbing when considered in relation to a steadily increasing population. This is soil depletion, we are told, at a rate amply distressing to arouse the country to its obvious duty of doing something about it.

If the situation is deplorable for this rate of sapping soil vitality, what are we to think when apprised of the fact that the estimate dwindles almost to insignificance in comparison with the amount of wastage caused by erosion? This form of land depreciation goes on so rapidly that it is almost impossible to conceive of its enormity. It affects practically every acre of sloping land in the humid parts of the country. Some of the plant food taken out of the soil by crops may be replaced locally by nutrients moving upward from the substrata, although science thus far has made no conclusive measurements of possi-

ble slow soil renewal by salts brought upward in circulating underground water. Certain it is, however, that nothing returns of the soil removed by rain wash.

The Scourge of Erosion

Rain water sweeping down the slopes covers the entire land surface with flood, making a river of the whole area upon which soaking rains fall. This moving sheet of water picks up and carries to the meadows below, and by the rivers to the sea beyond, the very cream of the fields—the top layer or optimum soil in which exists the richest supply of life-giving soil humus and nitrogen. Here is an agent of land exhaustion that does not select merely the plant food—the phosphorus, nitrogen, potassium, and lime; it takes away the whole mass of the soil, plant food and all. That eminent geologist, T. C. Chamberlin, estimates the nation's yearly loss of "richest soil-matter," carried into the sea by the rivers, as amounting to 1,000,000,000 tons or more. This leaves out of account an enormous amount of transported material left to choke stream channels and to be deposited over alluvial plains where it is not needed.

In a single county of southeastern United States 90,000 acres formerly rated as good farm land was classed by a recent soil survey as *rough gullied land* unfit for anything but scant grazing and timber. Most of this area was ruined through careless husbandry, such as failure to protect the moderate slopes by terracing and the steeper ones by seeding to grass or by growing trees. Centuries of rock decay and soil building will now be necessary to restore this devastated tract to agricultural use, since the soil in many places has been washed off to bed rock and so made unsuitable even for trees.

Washing Away the Surface Soil

In another not distant county 60,000 acres of good land has been similarly ruined—scarred and gashed beyond repair. Not less than eight or ten million acres of land once of fair to good farm value has been permanently destroyed in the United States or made temporarily unfit for cultivation by soil wash. Many times this area has been impaired seriously by the same insidious process of wearage. Recently the Agricultural Station of Missouri measured the work of soil wash on one of the State's important soil types by catching and weighing the water-removed material from hillside plots undergoing a variety of cultural treatments. It was found that a layer of soil seven inches thick was being removed every twenty-four years from land plowed four inches deep.

From bluegrass sod, on the other hand, the soil was wearing away at the slow rate of seven inches in 3547 years. No difficulty about deciding what should be done with slopes of this kind!

The Missouri Station has this to say of soil erosion:

Most of the worn-out lands of the world are in their present condition because much of the surface soil has washed away, and not because they have been worn out by cropping. Productive soils can be maintained through centuries of farming if serious erosion is prevented. The soils of Missouri have become gradually less fertile during the last hundred years, due in large measure to the excessive cultivation of rolling lands. Many of the most fertile soils in the rolling prairies and timber lands of this State have been kept in corn until the "clay spots" are evident on nearly every hillside. So much soil has been lost from even the more gently rolling parts of the fields that the yields are far below those obtained by our grandfathers who brought the land into cultivation. The erosion of cultivated fields is taking place at such a rate that it is calling for a decided change in our system of

soil management. If we are to maintain our acre-yields at a point where crops can be produced at a profit, we must make every reasonable effort to reduce the amount of soil fertility that is carried off during heavy rains.

Soil Preservation a Necessity

Another demand upon the vitality of farm land is going to come, and that sooner than is generally expected, in the form of food alcohol to feed engines, not human beings. Before long alcohol from potatoes, sugar cane, and other crops must be produced in large quantities to supplement the gasoline supply.

It becomes obvious to anyone who thoughtfully weighs the evidence of continuous soil impairment that something must be done about the matter, and that the doing must not be too long delayed, unless we are prepared to leave our children's children vast areas of destroyed and seriously enfeebled land. There is need for a national renaissance of interest in soil conservation—that kind and degree of sustained interest which prods until words of advice have been translated into action, and the action has "put chains on nature" to the extent of reducing the havoc.

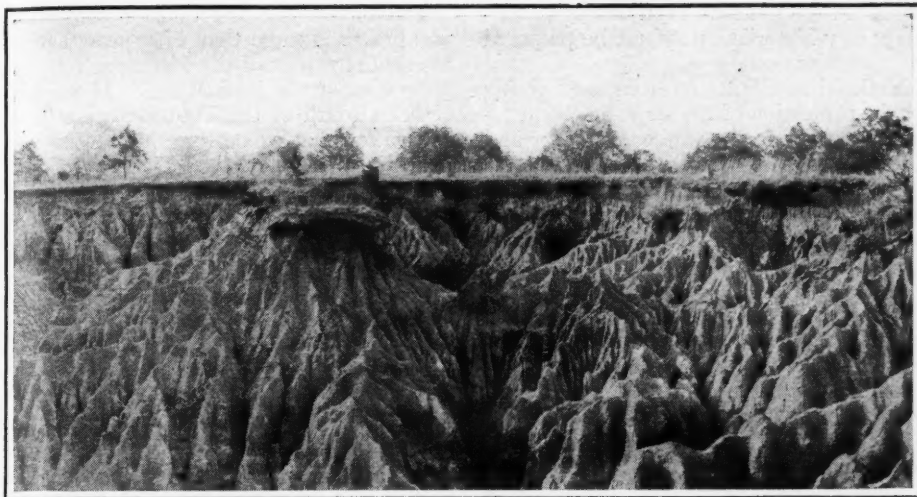
While we are giving widespread and effective aid to the preservation of wild flowers and are erecting costly monuments to poets, orators, and soldiers, most of us never even think of that most vital of man's resources, the soil, in any relation to its need of protection. Little thought or publicity is given the subject; rarely is it brought into discussion before councils of statesmen. When has a monument been placed in public parks to him who with hard labor and patience builds terraces, sows grass, plants trees upon wasting slopes to save that which provides the food and clothing of mankind? Yet monuments have been erected by Nature the world over to commemorate those unrestrained forces which have brought poverty, famine, and disaster to large districts, even to nations. These are to be seen in the vast bleak wastes of China and Asia Minor, where centuries ago the soil was washed from the bosom of the earth. Instead of fertile fields, bare rocks protrude and canyons furrow the land where formerly men tilled a fecund soil, but failed to husband it. We are developing some of these memorials in our own home country. The 90,000-acre gash down in the southern Piedmont is an example—the one referred

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**FORMERLY GOOD FARM LAND OF THE "BROWN LOAM" REGION IN MISSISSIPPI,
NOW PERMANENTLY DESTROYED BY EROSION**

(It is completely beyond the power of man to restore this soil; but its destruction could have been prevented. Approximately 10,000,000 acres of former agricultural land has been ruined in this country by wash—and the process is continuing)

to as having been produced by unwise use of the land.

Agencies Already at Work

We have some active agencies working in the interest of land conservation, but not enough. Much is being done by the foresters of the nation. Forest protection

and reforestation are synonyms of soil conservation. The impetus that was given to conservation by the Conference of Governors at the White House in 1908 probably was of greater importance than any single one of our cherished historic episodes, in so far as vitally affecting the welfare of coming generations on the North



THE CORRECT CROP FOR THIS SOIL: PINE TREES

(There is much rolling land in the cut-over pine belt of the South, which is soon destroyed by gullies when cultivated. By keeping out fires, large areas of this cut-over hill land can be restocked with pine, which becomes valuable for pulpwood at the early age of fifteen years. A little later the trees will be large enough for turpentine, then for lumber)

American continent, even though contemporary historians may not be prepared to write it as such.

National and State foresters are fighting for the protection of timber upon the headwaters of streams where clearing and cultivation would mean devastation to additional areas. These servants are planting trees and protecting trees on the national and State forest reservations as rapidly and effectively as their supporters have made it possible for them to proceed with the work. Their effort, stimulated somewhat by a vanishing timber supply, has led to much private endeavor in the way of putting forest land to its proper use in growing a crop of trees instead of tilled crops, and of protecting young trees from the ravages of fire. Some notable examples are to be seen at Bogalusa, La., where pine is literally being sown; at Urania, La., and Century, Fla.

Timber for Waste and Idle Areas

Still not enough is being done. Billions of young pines are annually destroyed by the needless fires that burn through the great cut-over areas where protection would cause the reestablishment of valuable forests. Those who have the means might well consider endowing some of these idle acres by making possible their restocking with pine. What useful purpose such examples would serve! Young forests would immediately spring to life, and increase so rapidly in value that thousands of land owners, duly encouraged by light taxation, would emulate projects of this kind. In the southeastern States alone there are 54 million acres which are suitable for timber and grazing, 10 million acres of marginal land probably best suited to forestry, and approximately 90 million acres of unimproved farm land, largely idle.

Terracing Hillsides

In many sections farmers are actively engaged in terracing thin sloping fields. County farm advisers in numerous instances are preaching soil conservation by the hillside-terrace method; furthermore, they are going out upon the land to show the farmers how to run the necessary levels, where to place and how to build terraces. In district schoolhouses these men are viewing with alarm the losses sustained by farmers who fail to protect eroding fields.

The terrace method of land protection was practised more than fifty years ago in the southern part of the Piedmont country lying east of the Blue Ridge. Thousands of fields south of the Potomac are still in cultivation that would have been destroyed long since but for the efficiency of the terraces in holding back the soil.

It has taken fifty years for this old system of land protection to travel as far west as central Texas, where of late years some "blackwaxy belt" farmers have decided to apply the methods of their Carolina and Georgia forefathers to western conditions. Up in Missouri and the rolling sections of Iowa, Ohio, and other central States the same system can be effectively applied, although grass sod will have to be depended on in many localities. Where grass takes hold with sufficient energy to produce a good turf, no better protection against erosion is needed.

Nation-wide Encouragement Needed

The Federal Bureau of Soils, coöperating with many of the States, is making soil surveys for the purpose of classifying the many types of soil as a fundamental step necessary for gaining full acquaintance with the properties, crop adaptations, and needs of the varying grades of land. It has been shown that certain soils having coarse, friable substrata—such as the great area of Memphis silt loam along the east side of the Mississippi River bottoms and the red Orangeburg soils of the Atlantic and Gulf coastal plains—are so susceptible to washing on all sloping positions that once gullies have cut down into the loose sub-layers the land melts away in heavy rains almost like sugar. At this stage the situation has practically passed beyond human control. It is necessary to know how these types behave under cultivation, and to stop all washes in their incipency.

Nation-wide encouragement should be given all of those working upon sensible schemes of forest protection, reforestation, and prevention of soil erosion. This encouragement should come immediately and vigorously from a larger number of citizens, private as well as public—from everyone, in short, who can talk, write, plant a tree upon a wasting slope, build a terrace, or cause idle land and washing slopes to be brought into timber and grass.



WALTER S. GIFFORD, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY, OPENING THE TELEPHONE SERVICE BETWEEN NEW YORK AND LONDON ON JANUARY 7, 1927

VOICES ACROSS THE SEA

THE TRANS-ATLANTIC TELEPHONE AS A MILESTONE OF PROGRESS IN COMMUNICATION

BY HENRY WYSHAM LANIER

SINCE one day last January men in New York and London have been able to talk together, across three thousand miles of ocean, without moving from their respective office chairs.

That is a phenomenon which, even in these times of swiftly succeeding marvels, has a significance demanding a moment's attention. And the more perspective one brings to bear on it, the more significant it becomes.

The most striking difference between the ancient world and our own seems to be in Communication. That means, of course, all those discoveries and applications which insistent curiosity, individual desire for power, and joint effort have worked out for the swift transport of human beings and their belongings, and the far swifter interchange of news, ideas, "or what have you."

Many philosophic historians insist that man's real underlying nature has not changed since he first appeared on the world scene; but one has merely to glance back at the caveman of the Dordogne Valley (say 100,000 years ago), able to transmit his limited ideas to his fellows only in

person through a most scanty vocabulary, to feel convinced that our habits, instincts, and our "selves" as they affect others have been, and are being, profoundly modified by our daily use of writing, printing, postal service, telegraph, telephones, radio, steamships, railroads, motor-cars, and airplanes.

To be sure, it would take most complacent smugness to maintain that we have advanced intellectually or spiritually in the same ratio. I have not detected, in my enthusiastic friends' reports of what they "got," broadcast, any marked advance over the wise speculations which Socrates spoke to a single companion or to a feasting group of a dozen Greek men-about-town. Perhaps like California peaches, size and quantity have evolved faster than flavor. It may be that we might well devote ourselves occasionally to being sure we are producing something worth communicating.

But that is another story. The optimist is bound to believe that the spirit of man will again and again flame up to throw some flickering tongue of light into the surrounding dark places. And certainly we are more ready every decade to disseminate any such

revelation instantaneously to the furthest corner of the habitable globe. For we have whole-heartedly obeyed the material part of the command: Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make His paths straight.

You can get the change between now and then most sharply in a couple of pairs of contrasting pictures.

Two thousand years ago, Julius Cæsar, already master in fact of the Mistress of the World, was in the barbarian island of Britain. He sent back to Rome two letters, so urgent that the whole weight of his authority was behind their speeding—and the amazing result was duly recorded for history: one covered the thousand miles in twenty-eight days; the other in the incredibly short time of twenty-one days. For some years a private individual of those same barbarians could transmit his message from London to the Imperial City almost instantaneously, or fly there himself in six or seven hours.

More striking still:

The most powerful man in the world, in the thirteenth century, was Kublai, the Great Khan of what we call China. Autocratically he ruled an empire beside which that of Alexander, of Rome, or of Charlemagne was insignificant. But a ruler's potency, however supreme at close quarters, is automatically limited by the speed and certainty with which his commands can be transmitted to his subjects. And when a young Venetian trader named Marco Polo went adventuring eastward with his father, and during long years in Cathay became a high favorite with the Mongol Emperor (Marco was for three years Governor of that very city of Hanchow which, as this is written, is the focal point of the struggle

between North and South for mastery of modern China)—he was impressed to the eloquence of wonder at the way in which the Khan's unlimited power had solved this question of communicating with every part of his far-flung dominion. . . .

Three hundred thousand post-horses and an uncounted army of hard-bitten riders and runners—so that the Lord of the East can send decrees, or receive table delicacies, "two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles in the day"!

It is 650 years later—January 7, 1927, to be historically exact, at 8:43 A. M., New York time. In an office on the twenty-sixth floor of the tall building at 195 Broadway a quiet gentleman sits at one end of a long table, a telephone transmitter before him. His name is Walter S. Gifford. (After eight years as statistician, and six as a vice-president, he has become president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, with its 48-million-mile network of wires connecting nearly 13 million telephones all over the United States.) A score of others sit around the room with listening instruments at their ears.

Mr. Gifford asks "Central" to get Sir Evelyn T. Murray, Secretary of the General Post Office—in London.

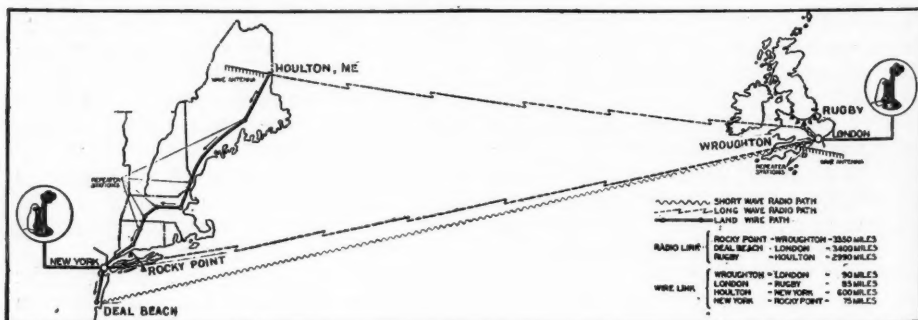
In one minute he is connected. (This was an official demonstration—you must not become impatient if it takes a bit longer when you try a London call yourself.)

"Hello, London."

"Yes," comes back a faint but clear voice—shattering the accepted tradition that an Englishman must demand "Are you there?" when he starts a telephone talk.

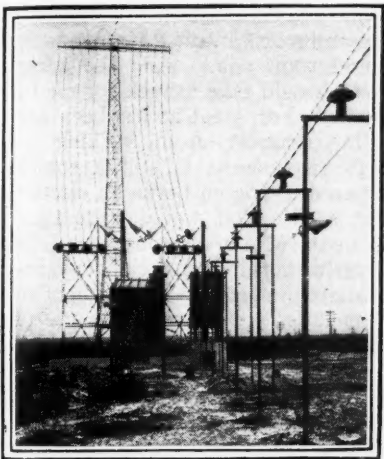
"Sir Evelyn Murray?"

"Yes."



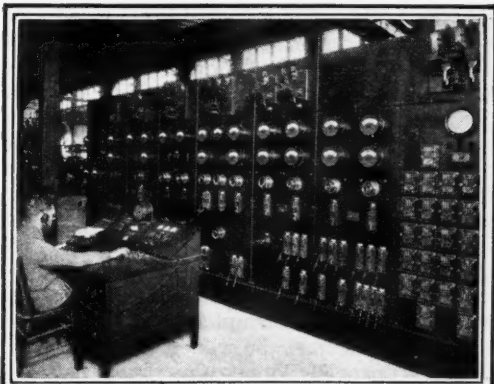
THE TRANSATLANTIC RADIO TELEPHONE CIRCUITS

(From New York to London the transmission is nearly direct, but two wave-lengths are used: 60 meters and 5,000 meters. From London the transmission is via Houlton, Me., on 5,000-meter wave-length. The wireless distance from New York to London is about 3400 miles, while from London to Maine it is 500 miles less)



AT THE ROCKY POINT STATION

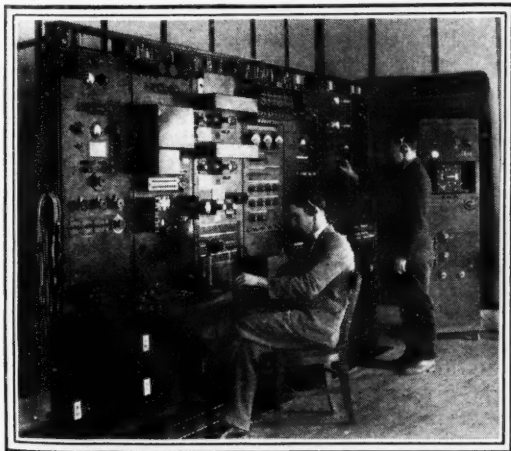
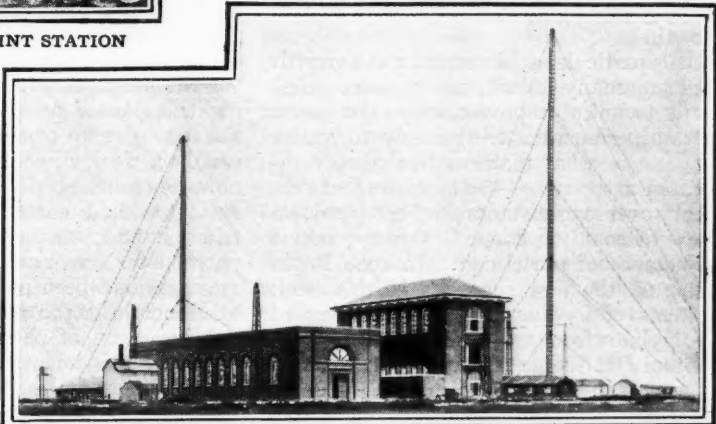
(There are six of these towers, 1,250 feet apart, supporting the antennae necessary for trans-Atlantic transmission)



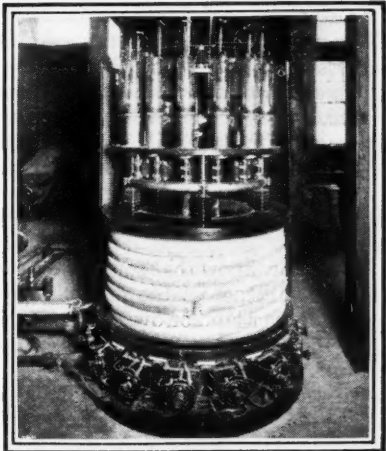
THE TRANSMITTING STATION AT ROCKY POINT

AT RUGBY, ENGLAND

(The antennae towers are 840 feet high. Here the Englishman's telephone speech is transmitted, without wires, across the ocean)



AT HOULTON, ME., WHERE WIRELESS SPEECH IS PICKED UP AND TRANSMITTED OVER THE TELEPHONE SYSTEM



FIFTEEN WATER-COOLED POWER AMPLIFIER TUBES

SOME OF THE APPARATUS NECESSARY FOR A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

"This is Mr. Gifford speaking. Good morning, Sir Evelyn."

"Good morning, Mr. Gifford." (Though at the moment it is afternoon for the English speaker.)

"Static" takes possession for a few moments. Then a prepared address of 250 words, and a mutually felicitating one from the other end, all heard as distinctly as if it were a local call. The trans-Atlantic telephone is officially open to the public.

That means that anybody with \$75 in New York can command a long-distance conversation beyond the wildest fancies of kings or financial potentates only a few years back. It means a notable extension of power to the individual to-day—and power is the greatest known stimulant to human growth.

This particular achievement was a growth utilizing many minds, many discoveries, many technical improvements. For years, alert experimenters tried vainly to realize in practice what mathematical theory indicated as possible—the increasing of efficiency over long distances, by cutting down the "attenuation losses," through added inductance of the circuit. In 1900 Pupin patented the first successes in this field: systems of loading coil-windings inserted in the lines from two to eight miles apart. He and Dr. George A. Campbell, and other experts of the telephone company's splendid research laboratory force, attacked the next problems with vigor: in 1905 the first amplifier was tested on the New York-Chicago line. These "repeaters," instead of lessening loss, start the impulses over again as it were; there are to-day seventeen repeater stations between New York and Chicago, making possible conversation over a wire no thicker than an ordinary pin.

After that demonstration of a tripling of effectiveness, the engineers confidently announced:

"We now know that some day we shall be able to talk across the greatest distances, whether over land or over water."

It took ten years more of intensive work to put the Atlantic Coast in vocal touch with the Pacific. On January 25, 1915, Alexander Graham Bell talked from New York to Thomas A. Watson in San Francisco. Thirty-nine years before, in Boston, Dr. Bell had made the first electrical transmission of spoken words to the same Thomas Watson—then in an adjoining room. Dramatically enough, he now repeated that

historic phrase to his assistant in discovery, three thousand miles away: "Mr. Watson, come here; I want you." And the latter laughed: "It would take a week for me to do that now." For, great as has been our advance in transport—from walking or ox-team to airplane—it is still a snail's pace compared to speech borne on electric impulse at a rate that would more than girdle the earth twice in a second.

The experiments in radio telephony began immediately after this enlargement of overland facilities. Borrowing the use of the great Navy antennæ at Arlington, Va., for transmission, and, in spite of the war, securing permission to equip the Eiffel Tower in Paris with receiving apparatus, these pioneers struggled for weeks with the interference from high-powered European stations. (Darien, Conn., and San Francisco got the messages without difficulty.) One night, as those at the French end were about to give up once more, they suddenly caught a clear, disconnected phrase: "And now, Shreeve, good-night." That meant Arlington had come through at last; a triumphant cablegram was at once despatched to New York. (Significantly, the messages had been picked up much earlier at Honolulu, 1,500 miles further away.)

More years of patient work followed—research, refinement, improvement of details. For example, a water-cooled vacuum tube was developed (aided by a striking achievement in sealing copper to glass), hardly larger than the one used in the Paris test, yet about 400 times as powerful, rating ten kilowatts. Efficiency was increased several fold by the "single sideband, suppressed carrier" type of transmission: when a voice-wave modulates the carrier-wave set up by a high frequency current, two sideband waves are formed, one of lower frequency, the other of higher; in radio broadcasting, two-thirds of the power radiated goes into the carrier-wave, only a sixth into each of the sidebands; but the new plan eliminates carrier and one sideband entirely, by electric filters, before amplification, and gets three times as great a power level by concentrating the whole amplifying capacity on the remaining sideband—also saving half the ether channel requirement, and doubling the number of stations which can operate without interference. There was endless effort to secure a selective and stable receiving apparatus, to provide secrecy by "shuffling" and "un-

shuffling" voice-waves (not yet solved completely), and to minimize static; and the ingenious wave antenna of the Radio Corporation of America was pressed into service.

As a result, in January, 1923, Mr. John J. Carty and three companions talked for two hours to a group in London at a time fixed in advance. They were heard as plainly as might be wished—the British auditors cabling back the fact, in default of a sending apparatus from that side.

The last link in the chain took four years to forge. The British Post Office undertook the providing of the return radio circuit, building a transmitting station at Rugby, where their imperial radio system centers.

With this ready, the formal opening of the trans-Atlantic service to the public took place, as described.

What actually happens when you talk to London from New York is complicated enough, even eliminating all the operators and intermediate mechanisms. The sound-waves started by your voice strike a diaphragm in the transmitter, and this vibration starts electric waves along the wire to the local telephone office. Passing through that switchboard, these continue to the long-distance office downtown, where the trans-oceanic circuit begins. Those same impulses flow on to Rocky Point, Long Island; flare out through huge amplifiers, which add a billion units of renewed strength; leap across the Atlantic on a 5,000-meter wave in a fiftieth of a second; are received and transformed again by the radio station at Wroughton, England; are amplified once more for the ninety-mile stretch of wire to the Post Office switchboard near St. Paul's Cathedral; pass thence to a local central office; and finally agitate the diaphragm in another receiver—to produce in an English ear the same voice sound which started 4,000 miles away. When your friend answers, his voice vibrations return by way of Rugby to Houlton, Maine, and from there 600 miles by wire to New York.

As might be guessed, from the laborious process required to build up this "every-day miracle," the time is still distant when one can take his telephone and call up any one of the five continents. The way is perfectly clear; but there are little matters of cost, language, governmental coöperation and what not, to be worked out before that easy dream of the fanciful fiction

writers comes true. But it is clear that as fast as there is a sufficient public demand for such communications, they will take their place among the available facilities of modern civilization.

Cost alone is formidable even in these lavish days. The equipment needed for that first call in January represented an investment of \$5,000,000. So great is the expense of installation and maintenance, that the officials declare there is practically no chance of any profit worth considering, even at \$25 a minute, especially since the difference of time between London and New York cuts down the business possibilities so sharply.

Indeed, it's surprising to be told that the company would, from every point of view, prefer an actual cable, and it is only because of the impracticability of using a submarine cable so long, where coils and amplifying units must be inserted and repaired, that forces them to use radio at all. The former radio telephone service from the mainland to Catalina Island has been replaced by a cable, and the longest submarine telephone cable is that from Havana to Florida.

However, the thing is here, and is bound to develop and grow. On one Saturday during the first weeks of the service, the facilities were extended to all New England and the district within 110 miles of London. When one remembers that the very birth of the telephone was within the recollection of a great many men still living, it would be hard to put any bounds to what another half-century may see.

Also there are stories now of a new Marconi "beam system"—short-wave impulses directed toward a specific station by some method of reflection—which is stated to offer cheaper installation and operation. The British Post Office was declared to have inaugurated a test service to Canada, of both telephonic and letter messages (a "line" takes both simultaneously by the beam system!), the latter at less than half the rate of commercial wireless. This should intensify still further the struggle reported between the cable and wireless companies—which has already brought messages down to six cents a word.

All of which but emphasizes the fact that our facilities are going to be more and more ample for swift and sure communication between all parts of the earth. What we are going to communicate is another matter.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

The Farmer and the Tariff

AMERICAN farmers as a whole have always favored a protective tariff. In the *Tariff Review*, successor to the *American Economist*, William I. Drummond, chairman of the Board of Governors of the American Farm Congress, says that they now have more reason than ever to do so. Interest in the subject is renewed by the discussion of the McNary-Haugen bill.

In America production costs are higher than in competing countries, particularly since the war. First among the changes which have made it well nigh impossible for the farmer to compete with European agriculturalists is the doubling of the wage scale as the result of the exclusion of immigrants. This raised cost of labor has doubled and trebled the cost of what the farmer buys, of transportation, taxes, and general expenses. If he is to live on a decent scale, he must make more profit than heretofore, and he can only do this by means of protection which will keep the domestic



VICISSITUDES OF THE FARM BILL
From the *Evening Post* (New York)

market free of an inundation of low-priced European agricultural products:

The American farmer, under tariff protection, does not have to share his domestic market with outsiders. This market, protected, is by far the best in the world. Unprotected, it would become an international dumping ground.

It is true that our farms still produce exportable surpluses of most of their main products, but looked at over a period of years there is a noticeable tendency for these exportable surpluses to diminish year by year.

Mr. Drummond quotes a high authority who predicted that within ten years, due to increase in population and steady drift to the cities from the country, we will be importing agricultural products of which we now produce an annual surplus for export.

Certain groups among the disgruntled farmers of the West are agitating for the reduction of tariff schedules. Mr. Drummond points out that the success of such an attempt would mean inevitable reduction in the standard of living, property values, and the value of securities and debts issued



THE HIGH ROAD AND THE LOW ROAD
From the *Press* (Cleveland)

on the basis of the present earning power. Such deflation is the terror of agriculture:

Downward tariff revision now means industrial depression for American industries and American agriculture and increasing unemployment in all

lines. These things mean, as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow morning, more deflation and drastic deflation in industries and on the farms, and every farmer in America who can remember not twenty or thirty years ago, but only five years ago, knows what this means to him.

An Amusement Park for a German City

"A PEOPLE'S VERSAILLES" is the title given to Mr. Frederic C. Howe's article in the *Survey Graphic* for January on the great public park recently established by the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Mr. Howe noted a similarity in the ground plans and many of the general effects between this new park for the people and the imperial resort of Louis XIV.

The site is in the heart of the public forests which surround Frankfort on every side. It is scarcely fifteen minutes from the center of the city by street car. It lies along one of the main residential thoroughfares of the city, lined with the palaces of the rich burghers who have made Frankfort a powerful financial and commercial center for hundreds of years. And apparently neither citizens nor officials raised any protest against an invasion of this aristocratic center by twenty thousand people on every Sunday and feast-day for six to eight months of the year.

The ground taken for the park had been occupied by a military training camp, and was bought by the city from the Empire after the war. City planners, engineers, and landscape gardeners all helped in the planning and development of the park. Every bit of natural scenery was preserved. The surrounding forests provided a wonderful setting. Still another justification for the undertaking was found in the industrial conditions then prevailing in Germany. Thousands were out of employment and were being supported by weekly doles, but the city concluded that she would rather pay wages than doles, so she put those idle men to work. In that way the amusement park was built at a cost estimated at \$750,000.

The park is shaped like a triangle with the main entrance at the apex. Within the park itself are two principal axes converging at the entrance, each of which is one-half mile in length. The base is a half-mile wide. The main entrance opens into a broad parkway which brings one to a large two-story club-house, containing restaurants where food is provided at a low cost. On the façade opposite to the entrance is a big open balcony where coffee, tea, and drinks are served, and where band concerts are held in the afternoons and evenings.

It was from this balcony I got my first picture of this people's play place. Before me lay a sunken mall several hundred feet wide with high embattlements in the distance. In the immediate foreground was a sunken garden with fountains and sand pits for sun-baths where people could sit and lie in the open all day long. On either side were retiring-rooms. Immediately beyond was a pool about four hundred feet square. Open-air sun cures are popular in Germany—there are many private natatoriums, where people swim in the water or lie in the sunlight all day long. Here was a public sun cure which could be used by thousands of people.

Beyond the first pool was a swimming-pool 350 feet long and 100 feet wide. There was a deep diving pool on one end. The pool was elevated. On the tops were benches for spectators. The pool itself was lighted above and by incandescent lights in the bottom. Provision was made for heating the water so that the pool could be used in the spring and the autumn. On the sides were dressing-rooms and shower-baths.

Still further on was a stadium. It was designed especially for bicycle races and sports of various kinds. It will seat several thousand people. The center can be flooded for skating in the winter. This whole section, as in fact the entire park, can be brilliantly lighted at night for contests, competition, play. Everything was orderly, clean, thought out in advance. There was art in everything.

Mr. Howe makes no effort to conceal his admiration for the way in which municipal enterprises are conducted in Germany:

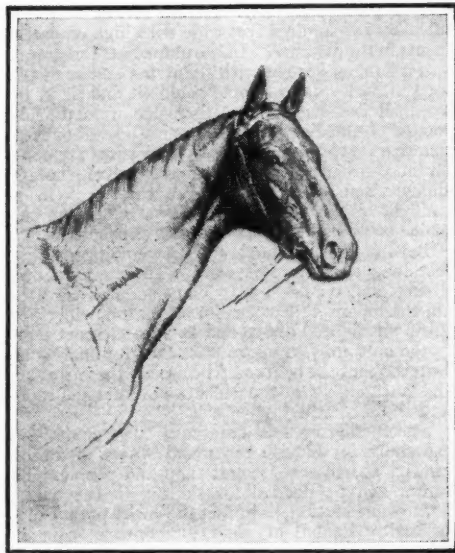
It was twenty-five years ago when I first became interested in the German city from reading Albert Shaw's "Municipal Government on the Continent of Europe." The outstanding feature of the German city at that time was its businesslike administration of municipal affairs. The German city began to widen its activity. It acquired the street railways, gas- and electric-lighting undertakings. It became a social as well as a business agency. The town-planning became a science, and German cities planned their growth and development in an orderly, far-visioned way. The city began to house its people; to erect model tenements; to put an end to tenement slums. It was interested in efficiency, in health, in making war on disease. During these years the official vision of what a city might be and should be was widening. It was becoming more generous, more human, more democratic. And in each of these evolutionary stages a successful experiment in one city was immediately copied by others.

The German city has always been a pathfinder, not for Germany alone but for the world as well. And Frankfort was always a pioneer, venturing into

new fields. Now she has recognized the right of people to play. She has recognized the necessity for public provision for leisure. And in this People's Versailles she has made such generous provision that even the poorest can enjoy a summer vacation at their very doors with consideration for their health, for their happiness, and for their cultural

entertainment, all planned, equipped, and supervised by public authorities with as much care as is given to a museum, an art gallery, a city hall or a private palace. Eighteenth-century Germany built parks and palaces for a royal ruler. Present-day Germany is building parks and play places for the people.

Horses and Sport



MAN O' WAR

(This etching by Andrew R. Butler appeared as the frontispiece of a special edition of "Thoroughbred Types, 1900-1925," a study in photograph and text of the outstanding race-horses, hunters, and polo ponies of a quarter-century)

THE horse, as an adjunct to sport and recreation, is fast regaining a prominent place in the interest of the country at large. Riding is growing more and more popular, hunting and polo are actively enjoyed by many instead of a few, and the demand for more and better horses has brought attention to racing and breeding.

The Sportsman (New York), a new monthly, the aim of which is to cover the range of sport from the amateur viewpoint of good sportsmanship, contains much of interest to horse enthusiasts. The fact that its editor, Mr. Richard E. Danielson, is an active Master of Hounds indicates that this branch of sport will receive its fair share of attention. In the February number is an entertaining article on "Picking the Winner" by Mr. Peter Burnaugh. The difficulties that a newspaper handi-

capper encounters are many, particularly as one trainer admits that he has discovered "118 ways in which the best horse can be honestly beaten in a horse race." "1927, an International Year in Polo" is the subject of an article by Mr. J. C. Cooley, occasioned by the acceptance by America of the recent British challenge.

The Field, Illustrated, "Devoted to Pedigreed Live Stock, Agriculture, and Country Life" (New York), has recently undergone a change in ownership. This magazine also devotes considerable space to the horse, not only from the point of view of the country gentleman interested in sport, but also from the point of view of the breeder. In the current number Mr. Arthur W. Coaten describes Lord Astor's remarkable success in breeding thoroughbreds and his good fortune on the track, although he never has won the Derby. Fox hunting in the Baltimore neighborhood and the early history and present establishment of the Elkridge Hounds is well told by Mr. T. Dudley Riggs, Jr.

The Rider and Driver (New York), now in its thirty-fifth year, covers horse shows, hunting, and racing, as well as such topics as better bridle paths, and how to learn to ride. The issue of January 22nd also contains a talk given over the radio by Mr. Edward F. Peters of Cincinnati; a representative of the Horse Association of America. He describes the different types of saddle horses and their uses and puts in a plea for more breeding, since the American Remount Association is now making more than 400 stallions available to the farmers of the country at the low service fee of \$10.

Every two months the American Remount Association publishes a little magazine, *The American Remount*, which contains much useful information to the breeder, as well as articles of more general interest. In the January number A. J. Culbertson describes the making of "Horsing the Army," a Pathé Review feature.

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Men and Women in the Foreground

THE only thing you can be sure to find in any given magazine is the article about persons. Selected bootblacks and farm-hands monthly rise to deserved fame and fortune in the pages of the *American* and *Success* magazines. Not a prominent politician, actor or manager—theatrical or sporting—but has revealed the secrets of his life to an eager audience in the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Liberty*, or *Collier's*. And in magazines such as *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, *World's Work*, and our own REVIEW OF REVIEWS a more or less serious attempt is made to add to historical biography and to tell the public who's who in world affairs, political, social, artistic.

Harking Back to Washington and Lincoln

The February issues, needles to say, contain a plentiful supply of Washington and Lincoln biographical material, some of which we mention here. On a widely circulated librarians' list of ten outstanding magazine articles of the month is a contribution to *Good Housekeeping* (New York) entitled "This Man Saw Lincoln Shot," in which Joseph Hazleton tells Campbell McCullough how, as a hero-worshipping boy, he witnessed the tragic occurrence at Ford's Theater. In the *Forum* Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, one of Britain's four Law Lords and a great Lincoln student, says that estimates of Lincoln's life too often ignore the important part played by his legal training, which "ripened his wisdom and made available his sterling political qualities." Lincoln chose the law as a profession because it was the "key to the door of public service."

The old, old game of weighing Washington and Lincoln to find which is the greater American comes out again in favor of Lincoln in *Liberty*, where William E. Barton, father of the author of "The Man Nobody Knows," and a serious Lincoln student, sizes up Washington as an English gentleman, but finds Lincoln wholly typical of America, and the greatest leader ever known.

An aggrieved protest against the naked Washington of modern biography appears in the *Catholic World* (New York). The author, Charles Phillips, prefers him as puritan tastes made him—long-faced, non-swearing, utterly truthful—rather than as

the blasé modern public wants him. Where earlier biographers suppressed, modern ones color and slant and exaggerate. A pleasant essay in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Charlottesville) measures Philadelphia, the Sesquicentennial, and Prohibition by Jeffersonian standards, and gives as well a clear picture of the man Jefferson.

The Complete American

Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson, however, are failures when it comes to embodying the American spirit to-day, says Benjamin de Casseres in the *American Mercury* (New York). It is time we were picking out some representative heroes, he declares, and thereupon draws eight glowing little pen portraits of Americans who personify the qualities which now make up the Complete American: P. T. Barnum embodies the circus-humbug spirit, the infantile play instinct inborn in all Americans; Jesse James, the instinct of romantic lawlessness; William Jennings Bryan, the passion for righteousness; Dr. Frank Crane, the love of pragmatic culture (book larnin' which gets you a Ford); Billy Sunday, the camp-meeting, fraternal complex; Theodore Roosevelt, the love of blare; Edgar A. Guest, the glorification of home and Mother; Woodrow Wilson the profound need for the mask of idealism. And there you have the 1927-model American.

Hillman of the Amalgamated

Who would look in the *Contemporary Review*, staid old London monthly past sixty years of age, for a character sketch of a New York labor leader born of Lithuanian immigrants? Yet there it is, product of the pen of Mary Agnes Hamilton, who returns to her native Britain and reports: "If I were asked to say, off-hand, who is the most interesting man in New York, I should not cite Judge Gary, nor Otto Kahn, nor even Governor Al Smith,



SIDNEY HILLMAN

but Sidney Hillman." She had a talk with him, and declares that it was worth a 3,000 mile journey.

Hillman, Miss Hamilton tells us, is still under forty, but he has created an organization which has not only revolutionized conditions in a major industry but stands as a working demonstration of industrial democracy in action. Sixteen years ago he was a cutter in a great Chicago clothing establishment. There came a strike and out of it an agreement between employer and workers—and Hillman was spokesman for the workers. That agreement, modified and developed in subsequent years, has been extended throughout the industry.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a union outside the Federation of Labor, was formed in 1914, and Sidney Hillman has been its one and only president. In 1915 the Amalgamated members worked 52 hours a week, the men averaging \$15 and the women \$10. Ten years later, working only 44 hours weekly, the men average \$48 and the women \$34. So greatly has efficiency increased, the true labor cost to employers is less than under the old scale.

Sidney Hillman, we are told, would be the first to insist that in all this he has had wonderful helpers and servers. But the constructive vision, the long-range outlook are his contribution—"that, and the combination of courage and patience." A great platform speaker, he tells conventions not what they would like to hear, but what he thinks. "Watch Sidney Hillman" is Miss Hamilton's parting admonition.

Lawrence of Arabia

One of the most mysterious and fascinating figures of the war was Thomas Edward Lawrence, "The Uncrowned King of Arabia," whose amazing work in unifying



THOMAS E. LAWRENCE

the Arab tribes and leading them against the Turks found its first public record in a book by Lowell Thomas, "With Lawrence in Arabia." Now appears the first selection from the voluminous diaries kept by the young Oxford graduate himself

—he is now only thirty-nine years old—which he has spent much time editing since the close of the war. In *World's Work* we are told by Lowell Thomas how Lawrence's unusual knowledge of Arab languages and customs, and astonishing understanding of the Arab mind, led him first to go to Arabia with a British Museum expedition doing excavating at Carchemish, and, upon the outbreak of the war, to remain as a member of the British army to organize an Arabian army.

What Allenby did in Palestine, says Mr. Thomas, Lawrence did, in a different way and under even more adverse circumstances in Arabia. His own diary tells the story in great detail. He placed himself at the head of a Bedouin army under the Arab ruler Feisal, and proceeded to organize the nomadic tribes of Holy and Forbidden Arabia in one campaign against their Turkish oppressors—a task which had baffled sultans, caliphs, and statesmen for centuries. He planned campaigns, negotiated alliances, led attacks and adjusted differences, among a people unbelievably suspicious of foreigners. The article in *World's Work* is a long one, but contains only the beginnings of his story.

General Mangin

The hero of Douaumont, Verdun, and Château-Thierry, General Mangin, is brought vividly before us again by David Grey, an American liaison officer closely associated with him during the latter days of the war, in the *Century Magazine*. Mangin's wartime command ended with the occupation of reconquered Alsace-Lorraine, from which his family had been expelled during the Franco-Prussian War. A graduate of the French West Point, *L'Ecole de Guerre*, he served a long and distinguished military apprenticeship in the colonies before the outbreak of the World War. His military fame rests principally upon his successful plan to empty the Château-Thierry pocket, in July, 1918, which is said to have turned the tide of the war. He died in May, 1925. Mr. Grey pictures a man of enormous energy, ruthless determination, keen intelligence and foresight, personally reserved and formal to an extent which damaged his power over his men. Mangin hoped to see a Rhenish republic established, and when President Wilson disagreed with this plan, and offered the protective alliance of the United

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States and Great Britain as the solution for French security, Mangin expressed his distrust. "He told me flatly," says Mr. Grey, "that America would inevitably revert to her traditional policy of isolation."

The Russian Leaders

Jerome Davis, in the *Graphic-Survey* for February gives a vivid and instructive picture of the men who typified the various phases of Russia's Revolution. Mr. Davis has been in constant touch with Russian affairs since the beginning of the European war, and has personally known the men he describes. Beginning with General Kuropatkin of the Czarist régime, whose intense enthusiasm for imperial power was only exceeded by his lack of understanding of the masses, he then treats in more detail Kerensky, Trotsky, Lenin, and Stalin. Kerensky thought "in terms of western democratic ideology, independent of immediate popular desires." He failed because he lacked a clearly thought-out philosophy of the social order. He was inspired originally as was Lenin, by the execution of young Alexander Ulyanoff, Lenin's brother. Trotsky had the traits so characteristic of Theodore Roosevelt, of dramatizing the commonplace. He was preëminently a man of action, loving the limelight. Lenin was the "prophet" of the Revolution, a man of extraordinary intellectual capacity; he sacrificed all for the good of the next generation. Stalin remains the Revolution's most forceful and brilliant politician.

American Women in Politics

With the end of the year the terms of our two women Governors expired, and with the 4th of the present month of March our three women Representatives in Congress return to private life—although the Seventieth Congress will have one woman member, Mrs. Langley of Kentucky. All these women rose to public office in the reflected glory of husbands. Governor Ross of Wyoming had been elected to succeed her husband, who had died in office, and so had Congresswomen Kahn of California, Norton of New Jersey, and Rogers of Massachusetts. "Ma" Ferguson was elected Governor of Texas largely because her husband had been impeached and could not himself run again, and Mrs. Langley goes to Congress because her husband went to jail in protest against prohibition laws.



MISS GAIL LAUGHLIN

In the new Maine legislature there sits a woman member who enters public life on her own record. Miss Gail Laughlin was born in a village on Passamaquoddy Bay fifty-eight years ago, graduated with first honors at Portland High School, became a bookkeeper, went through Wellesley College on her savings and borrowings, became a bookkeeper again, went through Cornell Law School, and was admitted to the bar in New York. She then made an industrial survey which convinced her of the unsoundness of special regulation for women in industry, and later campaigned for woman suffrage. Twenty years ago Miss Laughlin went West, practicing law first in Colorado and afterward in California. In 1922 she returned to her native State, and at the last election was sent to the legislature. She was first president of the National League of Business and Professional Women, and is now vice-president of the National Woman's Party. A career such as this leads Maine to expect much from her presence at Augusta. "What Will Gail Laughlin Do?" is the title of an entertaining and informing article by Rebecca Hourwich in the *Independent* for January 15.

Zukor of the Movies

Thirty-eight years ago a boat-load of immigrants landed at the Battery in the great metropolis of the New World. That was almost a daily occurrence. But this particular steamer had brought over a Hungarian orphan lad of sixteen who spoke not a word of English yet was destined to become head of the largest producing unit in the fourth largest industry in the world.



ADOLPH ZUKOR

Adolph Zukor, immigrant, from Ricsa, Hungary; now president of Famous Players-Lasky Corporation. A thrilling story of the intervening years is told by Allan Harding in the *American Magazine*. There was no motion-picture industry when young Zukor landed here, so he trudged the streets and found a job tying springs to the framework of couches. The pay was \$2 a week. (Later he paid Mary Pickford a thousand times as much!) But in the evenings he went to school to learn English, and at eighteen transferred his energies to a fur shop, remaining in the fur business for thirteen years, until 1904. At twenty he was partner in a small business venture with his roommate.

Zukor made money as a fur merchant, though not a fortune, and he saw opportunity to invest it in "penny arcades," then quite popular. From that it was an easy step to the small, ten-cent motion-picture houses, when all "movies" were crude and most of them were scenic. The remainder of the story is obvious. It is recited by the author mostly in Mr. Zukor's own words. Possibly it would have had a different ending had the man blundered into some other industry where the rewards were less, or into the same industry at a later period. Nevertheless Mr. Zukor's recital shows that he seized every opportunity, made the most of it, and injected original ideas and methods.

From an almost penniless immigrant boy in a strange land where race, religion, and language were presumed to be against him, to a multimillionaire whose fortune has been gained in so worth-while a manner—this is a story more inspiring than any conceived by the imaginative writers of juvenile classics a generation ago.

Personalities of Theater and Opera

In the *Ladies' Home Journal* the inimitable, be-monocled George Arliss, distinguished English actor, for many years a favorite on the American stage, tells of his early struggles "Up from Bloomsbury." In the *Saturday Evening Post* many are undoubtedly renewing their youth with the scandal and anecdote that make up Mrs. Leslie Carter's autobiography. Mrs. Carter's career on the American stage makes a pretty good thumbnail history of the past three decades in the theater.

Those who saw Madame Schumann-Heink on the occasion of the celebration,



MME. SCHUMANN-HEINK

recently, of her fiftieth anniversary as a singer could not possibly have guessed that she was once a starved slip of a girl with four small children to support, after her first husband deserted her. At the age of twenty-one or two Ernestine Schumann-Heink was begging parts in the Hamburg opera, ragged and hungry, Mary Lawton tells us in *Good Housekeeping*. She would sing anything that would bring her in a few marks. Shortly before the birth of her fourth baby she had resolved to throw herself and her children in front of a train, but an opening to sing at the popular Kroll theater in Berlin marked the change in her fortunes. To the fact that what then seemed to her an unkind fate kept her from singing leading rôles in her early years (she began opera singing at seventeen) she attributes the unusually long life of what for fifty years has been "the leading contralto voice in the world."

Famous Designers

At opposite poles in no way more than in notoriety are William Hovgaard, Professor of Naval Design and Construction at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Jean Phillippe Worth, dictator of woman's clothes. The one is no less an authority than the other, it seems. At least, Henry Goddard Leach, editor of the *Forum*, writing in the *Scandinavian-American Review* says that the work of Hovgaard, who came to this country about thirty years ago as an experienced young Danish sailor with an impractical submarine design in his pocket, has



JEAN WORTH

had a profound influence on the design of battleships, submarines and other naval craft, and on the efficient conduct of the American navy during the war, when he was one of the staff of technical experts called to Washington by the Government. He now is consulting naval architect. Certain it is that Charles Frederick Worth and his even more famous son, Jean Phillippe Worth, who writes an account of their activities in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, have had much to say about the innovations and the design of materials, garments, and the everyday conduct of life. Their story is, in effect, a record of the changes of fashion for the past hundred years.

Painters and Writers

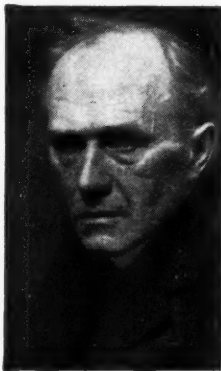
Certain schools of modern painting have always won public attention and the impressionists were first among these. Claude Monet, for many years the head of the Impressionistic school, died last December, and an interesting obituary sketch appeared recently in the *Independent*. The author gives a clear and impartial description of Monet's method, which was, he says, "To juxtapose with individual brush marks the hues which corresponded with his analysis of light and shade in such a manner that the colors were to be mixed rather by the eye that received than on the canvas where they were painted."

In *World's Work* Joseph Conrad confesses in a letter to a friend that the great sorrow of his life was that he could not speak English without an accent. For this reason

he refused to lecture or read from his works (which he thought he could do very well) while in America. Of H. L. Mencken, editor of the *American Mercury*, Conrad said, "His vigor is astonishing, it is like an electric current . . . it makes me giddy."

Akeley the Naturalist

Carl Akeley, world-famous taxidermist, who was sculptor and naturalist as well, died last December in the African jungle while completing his collection for "African Hall," the memorial to his friend Theodore Roosevelt, which he was planning for the American Museum of Natural History in New York. "African Hall" was to house his famous elephant, lion and antelope groups, Dr. Clyde Fishier, an associate of Dr. Akeley's, writes in the *Scientific Monthly* (New



CARL AKELEY

York). Dr. Akeley, he tells us, began his work as a boy on a middle-western farm, and later won fame at the Chicago Field Museum. He is believed to be the first taxidermist to recognize the importance of reproducing the habitat of mounted animals in order to give them reality as well as full scientific value.

Financial Discussion for the Layman

"THE few who contrive to take more out of the stock market than they put into it do so by going contrary to what would generally be accepted as logic. They do the opposite to what the majority of seemingly intelligent speculators are doing," says Fred C. Kelly in the *American Mercury*, in a readable article that contains several very sensible hints for the amateur speculator.

First of all, he warns his readers, contrary to all rhyme and reason, stock prices go down on good news and up on bad.

The most logical thing a market speculator can do, and the thing he is most likely to do, is to buy when prices are high and sell when prices have dropped, thus suffering

a loss. Indeed, he is likely to buy at the exact top. He has watched the advance from day to day, and finally brought himself to buy, expecting a neat profit by afternoon. At that moment the stock begins to fall. Everyone else has already bought and the stocks can go no higher. Then he hangs on while the stock goes down and down. Pretty soon he decides that it probably is going to do so indefinitely; he sells and the next day the stock rises. Everyone else has also sold and the stock cannot go farther down.

Monday is the worst day in the week for selling, and the best for buying. You are likely to find more bargains on Monday than

on any other day. Maybe church on Sunday has scared most people into selling, sending the market down temporarily, but anyway, it does go down, and comes up on Tuesday or Wednesday.

When the stock-owner wishes to sell off some of his securities he invariably decides, by logic, to sell those that have risen, and hold the ones that are still at the same price until they too rise, making profit all along the line. As a matter of fact, he should do the reverse, as the stocks which are rising will probably continue to rise, and the others are probably "chronic invalids" which will go down if they do anything.

The advice of brokers is of relatively little help to the average investor, statistical investigation has proved.

It must be evident by this time that the only safe method is to be illogical. If you are logical, you merely do what every one else is doing,—the sure way not to make money in speculation. Be illogical, but careful!

The Magazine of Wall Street (New York) for January 29 deduces some lessons from the 1926 market that should prove valuable in 1927. Mr. Benjamin Graham quotes the ruling opinion that the character of the market is not likely to change radically in the current year. This means, says he, that one can lay down no rule for groups of stocks in similar industries, as one could several years ago. Certain stocks, notably those of chain-stores, fell during 1926 from inflated prices to a normal level, where they have remained, and probably will continue to remain. Stocks such as General Motors rose as a result of reported increased earning power and the consequent "melon."

The thumb rule, therefore, is the status of the industry at the time of buying. Overvaluation is sure to be followed by a fall to a normal level, and flourishing corporations will continue to be good earners for the investor. In fact, it is a very logical and intelligent market, more so than most of its predecessors.

Religious Liberty—The Great American Illusion

RELIGION, which has a perhaps unwished-for news value in its controversial aspects, commands considerable space in the periodicals. While confessions of faith and discussions of the failure or success of Christianity are numerous, the outstanding contribution of the month has to do with Fundamentalism.

Albert C. Dieffenbach, editor of the *Christian Register*, contributed to the *Independent* (Boston) for January 8, 15, and 22 a significant series of three articles on the status, principles, and dangers of Fundamentalism as it expresses itself in the Protestant Churches.

"Victory rests with the Fundamentalists" begins Mr. Dieffenbach. "When the medieval dogmatists of our time came to do battle against the new spiritual life that was everywhere emerging in 1922, there was a great awakening among the liberal leaders, and they entered valiantly into the conflict. . . . In one Church after another the holy warfare has ceased. The Fundamentalists, who are 90 per cent. of the Protestant congregations, have overwhelmed their freedom-seeking brethren."

"Seven States are already legally dominated by a religious party," Mr. Dieffen-

bach continues. In Tennessee and Mississippi Fundamentalist dogma has become a statute. In five other States they have taken the public schools and determined that only their view of the Bible shall be taught. In Minnesota and North Dakota laws similar to those of Tennessee and Mississippi are about to come before the legislature.

"In these 150 years there has been a steady degeneracy of religious independence, and the proof is to be seen in the intolerant demands made for the first time in American history by Fundamentalist fanatics upon one Legislature after another, not in one section only, but in every part of the land. The Fundamentalist is not, as some believe, a Southern religious phenomenon. He is typical, innumerable, as large a part of Massachusetts as he is of Tennessee. A cross section of any State would show that America has a Fundamentalist mind."

"The greatest crime of the Fundamentalists is not their theories about religion, but their denial of both the principle and practice of religious liberty. . . ." "They have achieved power and lost their birthright of freedom. They have set up a monarchy in the heart of a democracy."

Labor Troubles in Java

THE rioting that broke out in Western Java in November last was thought to be a premature attempt to link the revolutionary movements of the Orient to the communistic activities of the Russian proletariat. Soerabaya is the heart of trade and industry in Eastern Java. There a general strike was staged as a beginning of the struggle for the reins of power. All those who sided with the government and refused to surrender were to be imprisoned or killed. But the rising was ill-timed, and prompt action and a strong hand on the part of the government prevented wholesale slaughter. It is fair to infer that so wide-spread a conspiracy must have been hatched long before the strike was called. It is a significant circumstance that the great mass of natives held aloof. The Volksraad stood solidly behind the government.

In the *Haagsch Maandblad* of January, Dr. S. Cohen Fzn dwells at length on the gradual increase in strength of socialistic and communistic groups amongst the more intellectual elements of the native population. The limited number of native chiefs and officials, whom most of the natives hold in high esteem and reverence, oppose communism as having the ultimate effect of undermining their own influence and authority. Their interests rest with the existing government.

Formerly there were but two classes of people: the workers and the native chiefs or sultans. The latter, designated as "Regents," are advised by the "Residents," the government officials. Stepping down there are assistant-residents and controllers, who, in turn, are assisted by native officials. The mass of inlanders believe themselves under the rule of their own chiefs.

When industries began to flourish, a third class of people sprung into being, consisting of the native middle class, lower officials, small tradesmen and shopkeepers, who outgrew the old form of feudalism and sought a share in the administration of town and country.

The Russo-Japanese War roused a consciousness of a national nature amongst the few, native intellectuals, while the birth of the Chinese Republic woke their own aspirations.

In 1911 the "Sarikat Islam" was born, a society which aims at the uplift of the natives while complying with the tenets of the Mohammedan religion.

The year 1907 saw the birth of "Insulinde," an association for the union of Europeans born in the East Indies. Its founder, Douwes Dekker, attacked the Indian Government under the slogan "India for the Indians." Also "India free from Holland." "Insulinde" became the national Indian stamping-ground. Two native extremists, Tjipto Mangoenkosoemo and Raden Mas Soewardi, finally were expelled from the country.

At the outbreak of the Russian revolution the radical elements in "Insulinde" resigned and joined the communists. However the "Sarikat Islam," hitherto loyal to the government, came more and more under the influence of communism. In 1921 there was a clash between the religious-nationalists and the non-Moslem Reds. The climax was reached when the communists were expelled from the association in 1923. Since then the S. I. has remained a religious-group, with nationalistic tendencies, but ready to coöperate with the policy of the government. The communists are now represented by a body called "Party Kommunist India," which is in direct communication with Moscow. It bores from within amongst the natives, and agitates strongly for soldiers' and sailors' councils. The party is a branch of the Communistic International at Moscow, generally called "Kominintern." Instructions are sent from Moscow or Shanghai.

Two natives are now in Moscow, charged with propaganda against Western authority in India. However, they are not international communists but Asiatic Bolsheviks, extreme nationalists, aiming to free all Asia from the Western yoke.

They are willing to use the assistance and gold of the International for their own purpose, as the Russian communists use them for the destruction of the European in Asiatic colonies. Those Asiatic Bolsheviks are also making use of the Dutch communists, to make propaganda in the press and Parliament. But personally they hate all Dutchmen, because they are white.

What's Wrong with the Theater?

EVERYONE, more or less, is asking the question, and few are so competent to answer it as Julia Marlowe, distinguished Shakespearean actress who, in company with her husband, E. H. Sothorn, has played for many successful seasons before British and American publics.

It takes the proper environment to make great acting, and the theater in its best and noblest sense is the actor; the actor the theater, says Miss Marlowe in the first of a series of three articles written by her for the liberal church journal, the *Churchman* (New York).

Garrick at the height of his popularity had to retire from the London stage for eighteen months because three elephants at a rival theater drew the town. When the elephant comes to the theater the actor is pushed to the wall. The public taste is usually low, but in America the trivial will continue to be selected unless higher standards are proclaimed.

The revolution to-day against the ancient gods, in painting, in literature, and the drama, allows the artist to express what he feels, no matter how disgusting or how obscene his feelings may be. If you neither understand nor admire, you are old-fashioned, not "sophisticated," "emancipated," "advanced."

How can this distressing condition be cured, or at least held in check? It is vital that it should be, for the theater is an undoubted social force, influencing thousands either for good or bad.

It can be done by holding up to public view the best, the most beautiful, the sanest in art. The most successful plays have always been wholesome plays. These should be presented in theaters endowed by the city or State, with prices of admissions from one dollar to ten cents. In these theaters actors could practise their craft and even with moderate gifts become expert, while with real talent or actual genius some might duplicate the career of the great men and women of the past.

The plight of modern actors is pitiful. If they are "fortunate" in the plays they undertake, they often play one part for several years. There are so-called great actresses to-day who have never played more than a half-dozen rôles. You can-

not be a great actress under such conditions, according to Miss Marlowe.

With the aim of educating public taste, of training the audience, and so raising the general quality of the stage exhibitions, first a company of players ("Let me declare once more the absolutely incontrovertible fact that the actor is the theater.") must be gathered. It will be hard to find a group already competent, for young actors and actresses no longer know all the supposedly "standard" plays that used to form the essential background of all aspirants for stage honor.

Into the stock company of old the "star" actor came as a guest, bringing only his own wardrobe, and sometimes his leading lady. With the growth of the "star" the stock company gradually ceased to exist. Each star came to have his own scenery, accoutrements, and company. Special production attained magnificence, and made the productions of stock theaters seem shabby by comparison.

Given a company of actors trained to handle competently a repertory of standard plays, the theater building can be of the simplest, possessing enough scenery equipment to let all plays in the repertoire receive a sufficient background of scenery suggestive of locality and period. The admission could be from twenty-five or even ten cents to a dollar. There will be a yearly loss which must be met by the State.

Some practical considerations of this state-owned repertory theater can be determined by consideration of the successful high-grade stock companies of the past—Sothorn and Marlowe's for example.

It cost Sothorn and Marlowe in a thirty-weeks' season in 1921-1922 approximately \$7,000 a week to run their company—minus the salaries of the leading man and woman—Mr. Sothorn and Miss Marlowe. Adding the salaries of two capable leading men and two capable leading women, the expenses to-day would probably amount to \$8,000 a week. This estimate includes salaries which will draw good actors. The attendance at this municipal theater would bring about \$6,000—one-fourth of the Sothorn and Marlowe weekly return. With the expenses of the programs, ushers, cleaners, stagehands and theater rent added, the weekly

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deficit would be about \$5,500, or \$220,000 for a season.

Follows a list of thirty-five plays which Miss Marlowe suggests might form the ammunition for the first attack upon New York:

Romeo and Juliet, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, Much Ado About Nothing, The Taming of the Shrew, Henry IV: Part I, School for Scandal, She Stoops to Conquer, Richelieu, The Lady of Lyons, The Love Chase, Edipus Rex, The Hunchback, Le Medicin Malgre Lui, Tartuffe, Don Caesar de Bazan, Trelawney of the Wells, Sweet Lavender, The Vicar of Wakefield, The Case of Rebellious Susan, Enemy of the People, The



JULIA MARLOWE

Three Daughters of M. Dupont, Peter Pan, The Private Secretary, Charley's Aunt, Ruy Blas, Rip van Winkle, Lord Dundreary, Sir Roger de Coverley (a new play), If I Were King, The Tyranny of Tears, Beyond the Horizon, Pelleas and Mélisande, Outward Bound, The Lost Leader.

In a nutshell: the actor is the theater; great acting is born of the opportunity to play great parts; a great theater cannot exist without an educated public taste; the only way to educate public taste is through the frequent presentation of great plays, capably produced and finely acted.

The Passing of the Family

JUST as the inventions of the early part of the last century removed industry from the home and placed the father of the family in factories and shops, so the latest phases of the industrial and social revolution are removing the mother, and threaten eventually to dispossess the entire family. A host of modern inventions have made the craft of housewifery no longer necessary, and economic conditions such as the cost of domestic help, impossible rents, and high standards of living, have made it a luxury.

The February and March magazines reflect the intense interest of authors and the public in this field. Will Durant, the man who has made amateur philosophers of us all, says in the February *Century* that the emancipation and industrialization of woman are the results, not of her own efforts, but of economic forces. Do not blame her for leaving her home; it is to her credit that she has done so, for "one by one the tasks that had made her slavery and her happiness slipped away leaving the house empty of interest, and herself functionless and discontent." Even children are excluded by economic pressure, and by the increased dangers of the once normal incident of birth occasioned by the physiological weakening of the modern woman "through work in the factory, or lack of work in the home. . . . The decadent æsthetic sense of the modern male has made matters worse. . . ."

Wives and daughters of the well-to-do

who are not forced to earn their share of the budget and whose few children are taken care of by experts and sent to school at an early age, have become parasites.

Marriage, too, we are told, is disappearing. It has been abbreviated at either end, by deferment and by divorce. The modern man hesitates to assume the financial responsibility entailed while he is still young. His wife will have little to offer which "he might not just as well secure on a shorter term investment." The whole institution of modern matrimony bids fair to be recast in a newer and less binding form.

The Missing Rooms

Soaring rents, begins John Carter in one of the most significant articles in the February *Atlantic Monthly*, carrying commodity prices with them, have caused at least two rooms to be missing from most modern homes. "And these two rooms are, spiritually and socially, the most important in the home—the guest chamber and the nursery." Rents are 75 per cent. higher than they were in 1914; housing shortage, which seemingly gets worse instead of better, is to blame. In the East particularly one house must now do double or triple duty.

The city birth rate has fallen 3.5 per 1,000 as compared with a drop of 1.3 in rural communities. "Pedagogues and clergy alike have been bewailing the decline of home influence. . . . They have failed to

see that what is disappearing is not so much home influence as the home itself."

"Every feature of living—birth, marriage, and death, hospitality, culture, and healthy recreation—is rapidly being integrated to terms of cash."

The Modern Woman

Moderately well-to-do and educated married women, in what Margaret Culkin Banning, writing in *Harpers*, calls their "lazy thirties," pretend that their homes, their children, their shopping and entertaining give them full lives. The woman of a generation before fervently espoused the feminist cause or went into club activities as a substitute for the domestic effort she was no longer called upon to make. But the modern woman has become used to uselessness. Her chief characteristics are disillusionment and discontent.

Woman's ideals remain unchanged although she changes her habit of life, says Margery Swett Mansfield in the *North American Review*. Ergo, she fails in business. Feminists of the preceding generation pushed open political and vocational doors because they knew this to be the wish of the great mass of American women; even though this wish was unformulated beyond a vague restlessness and discontent with pecuniary limitations. However, though the doors are open, only a few women are ready to enter. "Women are not at present successful in business. In woman's conception of success lies the secret of her failure." She sets her goal too low: independence, plus clothes. To reach this no effort must be made to plan into the future, nor to correct business faults. The spurs of economic necessity and public scorn or respect are applied very lightly to women. A woman is considered successful when she makes enough to support herself, dress well, join a few clubs, but could not afford to marry unless her helpmate supplied his share of the household expenses. This certainly is not the criterion for a man. "Women predominate in art, music, literature, and in social and educational work— vocations men can not afford to enter. . . . Women now hold practically all subordinate editorial positions on magazines and in publishing houses, and have almost a monopoly on part-time work."

The Vexing Question of Alimony

Woman's unself-respecting attitude towards alimony is discussed by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley in *Harper's*. Mrs. Bromley finds an anomalous mixture of modern habits of living and old-fashioned habits of mind. Strangely enough, the new economic independence of women does not extend to the question of alimony. Only a very few refuse it when offered. The attitude of the courts varies from the position of one judge who said that no childless woman under forty physically capable of earning her living deserves alimony to the old-school gallants who believe the marriage contract entitles the wife to life-long support no matter what happens to the marriage. Therefore, Mrs. Bromley concludes: "It would appear that the amount of alimony a woman gets is merely a matter of chance depending on the judge's gallantry and his inbred convictions."

The Foundering of the Good Ship Matrimony

Dr. Joseph Collins, eminent New York neurologist, writing in the February *Bookman* (New York) believes that something more suited to modern life than marriage as it is to-day will undoubtedly be devised. At present "the great defense ground of marriage is unassailable, although it does not satisfy logic: no one has ever found anything better to replace it."

Yet, only one in seven marriages fails to one in every five business ventures. Would it not be better to be forced to prove suitability before marriage than unsuitability later? Dr. Collins believes in marriages arranged by other than the contracting parties, who can judge far more sanely than the love-blinded candidates. "Love is one reason for getting married, but it is far from being the best one."

In the *Modern Quarterly* (New York), Upton Sinclair supports the present marriage system against arguments in the negative by V. F. Calverton, the editor. Mr. Sinclair's most amusing, if not his most profound reason for supporting monogamy, is that by avoiding frequent courtship periods and periods of adjustment, it is "an economy of human time and thought."

Need for a National Gallery of Art

AMERICA is one of the very few nations of the world which, neither beggared nor culturally backward, has not a national art gallery. In *Art and Archeology* (Washington, D. C.) for February, William H. Holmes, director of the Smithsonian National Gallery of Art, pleads for the speedy establishment of a National Gallery at Washington. A National Gallery, the property and responsibility of the people in the fullest sense, should represent by the perfection of its building and the nature of its contents, the place held by America in the scale of civilization.

As the richest nation in the world, America should not leave the vital matter of collecting the best of her own and foreign art and industries—painting, sculpture, building, textiles, ceramics, metal, wood and glass work, jewelry and costumes—to the

gifts of individual citizens. The number of really remarkable collections already belonging to various cities in the Union testifies to the interest of the public.

By a well-known law of culture gravitation, art drifts toward the center of wealth of a people. Washington is not this, however, and artificial aid is therefore the more necessary. The remarkable flow of art from abroad to this country must be deflected to this center.

The nucleus of such a gallery is to be found in the Smithsonian Art Gallery, already the recipient of many important gifts.

Mr. Holmes wishes to arouse public realization of this sad lack in our national city, and so to inspire a demand from the public to Congress for the establishment of a National Art Gallery.

Crime and Prohibition

OUR magazines continue to collect many more or less authoritative opinions on crime and prohibition.

William Howard Taft, in an interview published in *Collier's* (New York) calls for an aroused public opinion which will make crime suppression a political issue. "There is a peremptory demand for better laws and for greater severity in dealing with criminals," he declares. He advises State action, more policemen, and more power in the judges. Criminal codes should be simplified and delays minimized. Juries should be abolished in minor cases, and grand juries should be abandoned.

Two articles in the *Welfare Magazine* (Springfield, Ill.) strike an unexpected note of optimism. Dr. George H. Kirchway shows by the figures of prison commitments, published by the United States Census Bureau, that in the years 1910-1923 there was a decrease of 37.7 per cent. in general criminality in proportion to the population. In the same magazine appears the result of an investigation by the Kiwanis Club of New York on juvenile delinquency. This report, says the *Welfare Magazine*, is wholly reliable. It shows that in New York in ten years juvenile delinquency has decreased fifty per cent. In 1925, 2,179 commitments

were made to reformatory institutions as against 3,682 in 1911.

Walter Prescott Webb, in a delightful review of the part played by the revolver in the development of the West, in *Scribners*, asserts that the revolver, although easier to buy and more powerful to-day, has not the social standing of fifty years ago, nor is it as readily called into play.

A possible reason for the crime wave may be the teachings of the Sunday School, says Charles Haven Myers, pastor of a Cleveland, Ohio, church, in *Scribners*. Dr. Myers is concerned with the wrong ethical twist which can be given the young boy who studies the brigands of the Old Testament as "heroes" to be revered merely because they are in the Bible. If the lives of these men are to be told to children, they must be greatly cut, and told as stories of half-mythical characters. If Genesis is to be taught, it must be taught as folk-lore.

The recent *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (Chicago) is devoted to a report on a survey of the administration of criminal justice in Connecticut cities. The success of a law permitting criminal trials without juries, if the accused so desires, is one of the interesting administrative experiments reported.

Prohibition

In the *Forum* Viscount Astor, member of the British Liquor Control Board during the war and a keen and intelligent observer, expresses the opinion that Prohibition will win out. "Both camps can claim, but neither can prove, that they have popular opinion on their side. . . ." But it is an established fact, he believes, that a large majority of the people want some degree of Prohibition. Viscount Astor believes that the difficulties of enforcement of any but total prohibition and the benefits of the prohibition period will eventually lead to the success of the present amendment.

Norman Hapgood, former editor of the *Forum*, who has a large and enthusiastic reading public, denies that violators of the Prohibition law do so from a moral conviction that the law is unjust. "Let us not be such gross hypocrites," says Mr. Hapgood, in a *Forum* debate on "Is It Right to Break Unjust Laws?", "as to pretend we are acting on principle or any conception of right when we are actually telling the rising generation that their appetites should come ahead of self-control and civic order."

On the opposite side of the fence Benjamin Sager tells us that the best way to abolish an unjust law is to disregard it, and fight for the right to disregard it, when the time comes.

In the February *Harper's* Stephen Graham asserts that "In the Bowery liquor is cheaper and stronger than it was before prohibition." It is sold quite openly, also. In the *Century* Alice K. Fallows tells of Bishop Fallows', her father's, attempt to establish a "Home Saloon" in Chicago in the '90's where light beer, reading matter and friendly conversation were the attrac-

tions. This was a prohibition venture which was a huge success until lack of funds caused it to be abandoned.

Law Enforcement

Four serious discussions of law enforcement occupy most of the *Scientific Monthly* (New York) for February. Professor Joseph H. Willets of the University of Pennsylvania says that our difficulties of enforcement are evidences that our laws have not kept up with the modern social revolution. A scientific study of the problems, and revisions of the law accordingly, are necessary to restore the respect for law that is an essential of government.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation enumerates the laws which are violated without popular reproach,—the Volstead Act, the revenue laws, gambling laws and those regulating traffic on the highways, and discusses ways of arousing public sentiment with regard to them.

The tax-payer will never pay his taxes unless he is sure that his neighbor is going to be required to also, says Professor Fairchild of Yale. Misrepresentation of property and evasion serve to keep taxes at an exorbitant height. In the property tax, for example, only about 3 per cent. of the jewelry known to have been sold to those reporting their property was listed by them. The penalty for such omission is severe, but it is almost never enforced.

Such conditions bring about the following state of affairs: a tax on property of 5 or 6 per cent. is necessary in order that sufficient revenue be raised from the small amount of property reported. The honest tax-payer must then pay more on a \$1,000 bond than it earns for him at the ordinary rate of interest.

Prehistoric America

THE new continents of the world are working as hard as the traditional new baronet to establish an ancient lineage. Archaeological work is going on all over North, Central and South America, stirred into particular activity since 1924 by the discovery of the advanced Maya civilization in Yucatan.

In the United States the problem of consuming interest confronting students of aboriginal American history is the peopling

of the New World. In the *Pan-American Bulletin* for February, A. V. Kidder of Phillip Academy, Andover, Mass., tells us that two parties essayed last summer the difficulties and expenses of work in the Behring Straits region, where, in the consensus of scientific opinion, the American Indians crossed into this continent from northeastern Asia. The expedition under Doctor Hrdlicka of the United States National Museum examined a number of

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ancient camps and village sites on the Alaskan coast and Yukon River, hoping to establish the date of the Indians' arrival and some knowledge of their culture. The collection has not yet been worked up, but it is obvious that the field is a rich one and that several cultures are represented. An expedition of the Canadian Government in the Alaskan area and the Aleutian Islands also met with success, the degree of which is unknown. The leaders of both these expeditions stress the importance of an immediate return, as the demand for fossil ivory implements to be cut up for jewelry is causing the destruction of many scientifically invaluable deposits.

In the Southwest no less than eleven expeditions took the field. Work was done at Pueblo burial grounds in Utah, Nevada, and Arizona, where extremely primitive pottery has been found, Pueblo ruins in New Mexico, an ancient salt mine in the Verde Valley, in Arizona, and at the famous White House ruin in the Canyon de Chelly with its numerous graves containing mortuary offerings.

The most interesting finds in the easterly portion of the United States were made while excavating the Seip mound, near Bainbridge, Ohio. One ceremonial or sacrificial offering was found which comprised a finely fashioned copper axe, weighing 28 pounds, and 12 copper breastplates all wrapped around with many thicknesses of woven fabric—one kind of bark, a second with fragments of design in color, a third of flat cane splints, and a fourth very similar to homespun linen. Suedelike leather, remarkably preserved, lay underneath the axe. The central mound is 250



CASTLE AT CHICHEN ITZA. YUCATAN

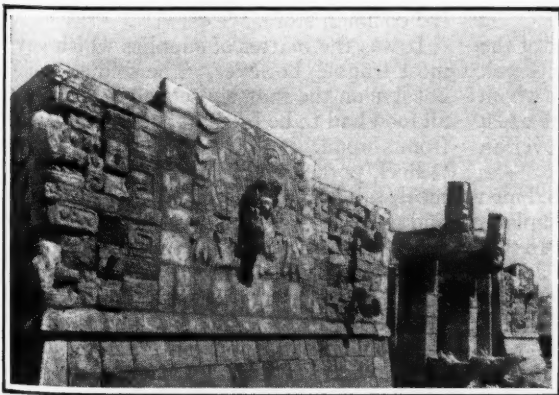
feet long, 150 feet wide, and 30 feet high. A large mound in Indiana was found to contain specimens of flint, stone, bone, tortoise shell and sea shell. The famous Etowah mound near Cartersville, Ga., was further explored by W. K. Moorehead of Andover Academy. About fifty graves were uncovered from which were taken gorgets of shell, bone beads, copper plates on which are human figures, a sword-like object of flint and a very large monolithic axe.

In South America, according to the report of J. Alden Mason of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, little outstanding work was accomplished during the year.

Architecture and Art That is Pure American

Central America is the seat of the Maya civilization, and needless to say, the center of archaeological interest in the Americas. S. G. Morley of the Carnegie Institute summarizes the progress that has been made. Four expeditions sent by the Carnegie Institute had headquarters at Chichen Itza and Cobá, in Yucatan, at Uaxactun in Guatemala, and at Copan in the extreme western Honduras. This whole region of exploration is about as far south of New Orleans as St. Paul is north.

The excavation and repair of the caracol or Astronomical Observatory at Chichen Itza, with



PARTIALLY RESTORED FACADE OF TEMPLE OF WARRIORS AT CHICHEN ITZA

the discovery of interesting sculpture and hieroglyphs, was continued. Serpent columns and sculptured doorjambs of a very early period were found in the Temple of Warriors. The whole temple discloses brilliancy of coloring never before found in Mayan ruins. Against a back wall of the temple was discovered a magnificently sculptured and painted dais—without doubt one of the most remarkable productions of Mayan art yet brought to light.

At Cobá on the site of the Maya city, Macanxoc, eight monuments were found, dated from 354 to 413 A.D. (The exceedingly interesting and complex chronology of the Mayas has been at last satisfactorily deciphered. A typical Maya date is as follows: 9.9.10.0.0. 2 Ahan 13 Pop.) These stelae probably record approximately the period during which the city was occupied. The dates are all a century earlier than the one given for the discovery of Yucatan in the books of Chilán Balam, and give rise to interesting conjectures about possible dual descent upon the peninsula, from the east and later from the west.

At Copan two monuments were discovered, whose position East and West in relation to the sunset caused the discovery to be made that on April 12 the sun would set directly behind the one monument as seen

from the other. An explanation, though without proof, sets this date as the time when the people might begin to burn off their fields to clear them for planting at the beginning of the rainy season a month later. April 12 was, no doubt, for the people of Copan, the beginning of the agricultural year.

During the relatively short period since the discovery of the first Mayan ruins, the idea of a primitive American culture has stirred the imaginations of scientists, artists, and general public alike. A profusely illustrated article of unusual interest appears in *Current History* (New York) for February, telling of the rebirth of prehistoric American art in the Aztec Hotel at Monrovia, a suburb of Los Angeles, Cal. Mr. Hampton, the author, describes this modern example of Mayan architecture and art, in which he sees the beginning of a series of experiments leading to the evolution of a new national style.

In the Aztec Hotel, the first and only building to use Mayan principles of design and ornament, every detail of structure, statuary and furniture—even the electric light fixtures, are Mayan in motif. An extraordinarily clear idea of the character of this prehistoric Indian art is to be gleaned from the elevations and interiors pictured.

The British Army in the Revolution

AT a time when we are celebrating 150 years of independence it may seem particularly unpatriotic to suggest that the powerful, highly-organized British Army which we conquered labored under certain severe handicaps.

In the first place, the total number of the British Army at the time of the outbreak consisted of 48,647 men—39,294 of whom were infantry, 6,869 cavalry and but 2,484 artillery—and these were spread all over an Empire as far-flung as it is to-day.

Each regiment of about five hundred men had a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, chaplain, adjutant, surgeon and his mate. In the cavalry and artillery a major was added. The artillery was armed with nothing heavier than three and six pound cannon.

"The medical corps was almost non-existent and pretty well suffused with brandy . . . supplies were scanty . . . chaplains were appointed by the colonels

of regiments. These often left the position vacant and pocketed the pay."

Married soldiers were allowed to be accompanied by women, nominally and occasionally their wives, who were fed from the common store.

It was the matter of supplies which gave most trouble, however. The soldiers could not live on the sparsely settled country and all food had to be brought by sailing vessels from abroad.

Beef, pork, bread, flour, rice, pease, oat-meal, salt, cheese, bacon, suet, fish, raisins and molasses were the constant fare. Potatoes, parsnips, carrots, turnips and cabbages were added when possible. Port, claret, and spruce-beer were forwarded in large quantities. The spruce-beer was for the soldiers, as a preventive for scurvy, and several breweries were set up to supply it.

Rations were scanty, even had the food

been good. It was, however, too often bad: moldy bread, weevil-infested biscuit, rancid butter, sour flour, wormy pease and maggoty beef does not seem the sort of fare to make a victorious army. "The pork at times seemed to be four or five years old, and the bread was reputed to have come down from the Seven Year's War nearly two decades before."

The militia was recruited with difficulty. Many Scotchmen enlisted as a canny way of migrating to the new world. The Hessian hirelings were well-drilled bits of human machinery, but had no interest in the cause. Officers bought their commissions. A colonel sometimes put up £5,000

for his rank and pay of £2 per day. They appear as a rule to have been men of good military quality. This was generally true, also, of the men.

Bad generalship and maladministration, negligence, corruption and inefficiency, poor quality gun flint, petrified biscuit, moldy flour and maggoty beef were the great allies of the Continental cause.

The above facts were obtained by us from Mr. Don Seitz in the *Outlook* (New York) for February 9, and by him from a book written by Edward E. Curtis, Ph.D., of Wellesley College on "The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution" (Yale University Press).

British Press Reviewed

ASIDE from discussion of the Chinese situation, political matters center the attention of the British public. The slow but steady decline of the Conservative Government in public favor is balanced by the recent changes in favor of Labor. The joining of the forces of the Coöperatives and the Labor party aroused much comment. The Coöperatives, though not a numerically significant party, are a rich one, and it is money that Labor needs. With all eyes centered on Labor, a short, clear statement about the political parties in Britain, appearing in the *Nation* (New York) from the pen of J. Ramsay MacDonald, the head of Labor, is of particular moment. The Liberal party is on every side counted out of the running. Its great fault is lack of unity. The Conservative party is undoubtedly losing adherents, who, since the Liberal party is in temporary, perhaps permanent, eclipse, are turning to Labor. But the Tory party "is less a political than a social party," and therefore hard to defeat.

"The real danger ahead of the Labor party is that its success is not all of its own making. The other parties are throwing success at its feet. . . . Has it a clear conception of what it will do when in power?" That is important, in Mr. MacDonald's opinion, for he believes that it will control the Government before the end of 1927.

A discussion which has broken out all over Europe, according to an editorial in the *Central European Observer* (Prague), has

to do with the place of rich men in Labor or Socialist parties. "Only in one respect has the Labor party anything to do with class," says a writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, "and that is with regard to undertaking as its first duty the elevation of the working-class for the reason that it is the only class in need of it." Mr. Oswald Moseley, M.P., a wealthy member of the British Labor party, defends himself from the charge of insincerity by saying that because he has had advantages denied the workingman he is determined to devote his energies and abilities "to procure for my fellow countrymen something like the same advantages I have enjoyed myself." (*Times Weekly*, London).

Mr. Archibald Henderson, general secretary of the Labor party, has recently made a proposal for the establishment of a permanent Economic Council or Parliament of Industry as a step toward industrial peace. Such a body, equipped with a competent technical staff and representative of economic and financial experts, as well as capital and labor, should be able to handle questions as they arise in industry and evolve policies for dealing with them. The English press has responded enthusiastically, but sees an obstacle in the anticipation of anti-trade union legislation by the present Government. *The Daily Chronicle* (London) declares that the way to peace in industry is not through weakening or destroying the trade unions, but through extending their responsibility and authority.

Anent the amendment of the Trade Union

Law by the present Government, Capt. Wedgwood Benn in the *Contemporary Review* says that, wisely or not, it seems to be the present plan of the Conservatives to disarm the Unions before attempting any remedies of the evils of the existing industrial system. The Government maintains its attitude of antipathy to the Trade Unions in spite of the proven fact that the Trade Union Acts give no protection for such a strike as the last one.

In the *English Review*, E. T. Good considers the same subject, while the *Fortnightly Review* details the problems and difficulties of trade-union reform. The *Quarterly Review* (London) discusses the riddle of Trade Union Funds. This last is a Conservative point of view.

While the lesson of the General Strike is still fresh in the public's mind, concrete steps should be taken to secure the industrial peace which is so desired by all, says Elliott Dodds in the *Contemporary Review*. Mr. Dodds recommends the serious consideration of the Huddersfield Peace Petition, addressed to the Prime Minister a few months ago. It advocates a National Industrial Council similar to that proposed by Mr. Henderson.

Industrial profits show a rise in 1926 above last year, reports the *New Statesman*. The average rate of profit for all industries was 11.1 per cent. for 1926, as opposed to 10.3 per cent. for 1925. This was effected by the high profits of the rubber, tin, and similar companies abroad, offsetting the decrease in the coal, iron, and steel industries. In every case the results are amazingly good in the face of the decreased turnover.

In the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* annual review, the disturbance of industry is said to have caused a 10 per cent. decrease in output. Sir Josiah Stamp is of the opinion, however, that this falling off was due less to the chaos of industry than to the effect of "world economic forces which tended to depress trade."

In the *London Review of Reviews* Mr. Hugh Quigley writes a valuable article on the new National Power Scheme organizing and controlling the production and transmission of electrical power all over Great Britain. The author suggests that now is the time for the British Government to put through a Coal Reorganization Bill of similar scope. The principles involved in the reorganization of electrical supply, namely,

amalgamation, centralization, specialization in administration, interconnection on a common national system with pooling of supplies, modernization of equipment for production and distribution, with control of production costs and wholesale prices, are the same as those which have been formulated for the coal industry.

"The Five Fears of South Africa" are enumerated by the Rt. Hon. Lord Olivier in the *Contemporary Review*. They are racial fears, and have for years taken a foremost place among the problems of the British Empire. The recent Color Bar Bill designed to keep the natives out of skilled labor and industry, and the Native Land Act Amendment, which seemingly throws open large areas for native purchase and in reality does the opposite, as the natives are too poor to buy and it forbids squatter tenure, are two acts of unwisdom in the eyes of English and foreign writers alike. The *Edinburgh Review* publishes another view of the social problems of South Africa.

The *Manchester Guardian* reports the decision of the Teachers' Convention that the cinema is "inimical to education" for children. Defending the place of sport in boys' schools, Mr. Stephen Foot, frequent writer on educational subjects, says in the *Nineteenth Century* (London): "In the majority of cases if boys have little interest in games they will turn to girls." How awful he considers this alternative, Mr. Foot does not disclose.

In the *London Review of Reviews* several pages are devoted to a consideration of openings in Canada for Britons. Farmers under forty-five, young women to be trained as teachers, and girls and boys of good physique are given free passage, guaranteed homes, and offered many other inducements to leave their own country, where there are not enough opportunities for them.

A trenchant criticism of labor colleges appears in the *Cornhill Magazine* (London) for February. At present these colleges, designed to produce men who would turn their education to the benefit of their own class, graduate "egregious snobs," anxious to rise speedily above their own class.

The *Quarterly Review* has an article on the regulation of motor traffic. On the same subject the *Manchester Guardian* says: "The annual toll of our road accidents now reaches a figure round about 150,000—which many quite memorable wars have not exceeded."

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French Comment

ASIDE from the flood of bitter comment about materialistic and imperialistic America, the French press is still chiefly concerned with domestic financial difficulties. The general attitude toward Poincaré as expressed by the *Revue de France* (Paris): "He may be quite right but he is not reassuring," is one that keeps alive worried discussion as to possible ways out of economic duress. *L'Europe Nouvelle* (Paris) devotes an entire issue to a discussion of the financial reestablishment of Belgium, as an example for France. A better statement of the facts could not be desired. For the most part, however, the points of view of the various factions have been clearly elucidated by Mr. Frank H. Simonds in this magazine.

On everyone's tongue one hears Clemenceau's reply to the *Intransigeant* (Paris) when asked to express his opinion about the evacuation of the Rhineland. "If I could usefully say anything in the cruel circumstances through which the country is passing," he wrote, "I would not wait to be asked. I attach less importance to what men say, however, than to what they do. Excuse this opinion of a dead man who has seen his funeral pass before his eyes."

In the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* appears a study of the elements which will effect the reconciliation of Germany and France—a reconciliation upon which many hopes for the future welfare of Europe are based. A new magazine, *L'Esprit International* (Paris), has articles by Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, New York, Nicolas Politis, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in Greece, Auguste Gauvain, Alejandro Alvarez, and Thomas Mann. "It is the force of public opinion which in the interests of international peace must be guided and controlled," writes the editor, and it is hoped that the magazine will help to do it. President Butler writes on the state as a moral person with obligations to the society of nations. M. Politis declares that so long as economic disorganization persists, the peace of the world is in constant peril. Economic forces are the one inexhaustible source of conflict. Thomas Mann, German writer of authority, sees signs of a rising sympathy between France and Germany based on a similarity of problems. On the same subject, Wickham

Steed, in the *London Review of Reviews*, says that Dr. Stresemann is assuredly entitled to plead in his dealings with French and British statesmen that German public opinion would not follow him were he to advance too fast or too far upon the path of international concord.

René Pinon contributes each fortnight to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a political chronicle which is always excellent. In the issue of January 15 he declares that the League of Nations is kept from effective work by the character of the Council members: "When the League of Nations was organized," he writes, "the sessions of the Council and Assembly were planned as the idyllic ground where problems could be studied for themselves by an areopagus of wise persons, diplomats or judges. The entrance of Foreign Ministers has brought to Geneva all the passions, all the ambitions, envenomed by uneasy nationalistic feeling, in a theater feverish with journalists in search of sensations and of idealists full of their importance and their infallibility."

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* has for several months past been publishing a series on unrest in the Orient, one on France in the five parts of the world, and one on the leading secondary schools of the country, of which the most interesting chapter has to do with the leading French military school, L'École de Guerre. The same magazine for January 15 contains a review of the causes and factors in the British Miners' strike which partakes of the clarity and precision of the best French journalism. In the issue for February 1 Charles Benoist writes on the committee system as the greatest evil of democracy.

La Revue Mondiale (Paris) devotes one-third of its January issue, and one-half of its February issue to a symposium on the "Civil War of the Spirit," which is the outcome of the World War. Every phase of the battle between the elder and younger generations is touched upon by leaders of thought in religion, philosophy, and the arts. Unfortunately, no more of a solution is obtained than similar discussion in America produces. A plea for the establishment of yearly holidays with pay for workers in all industries calls to our attention a situation far different in France from that in our own country.

German aviation has suffered little from the restrictions of the Peace Treaty, the *Revue de Paris* tells us. Dornier now manufactures in Switzerland and Italy, Fokker in Holland, Junkers in Russia. Both military and commercial planes are made. Nine hundred and fifty pilots registered in

Germany in 1926, and there are no less than thirty flying schools.

In *Le Correspondent* (Paris) M. Antoine describes the most recent Catalan uprising in Spain. *La Nouvelle Revue Socialiste* (Paris) contains a long biographical tribute to Eugene V. Debs.

Italian Comment

THE Italian people, in the Italian press, continue to revel in subjugation, although the note of warning is repeatedly struck by those who see chaos ahead should anything happen to Mussolini, while, through foreign sources, comes active criticism. *Critica Fascista* (Rome) looks happily forward to the abolition of an elected parliament. How much better it will be when the Government appoints one, which will be truly efficient, as it will not be hampered by an opposition! exclaims the editor. *Echi e Commente* commends the tax on bachelors from the moral point of view. Those who ignore the duty of the individual to society should pay for it.

A different note is struck, however, by a recent Papal denunciation of Fascist excesses. This carries the more weight, as the Pope is known to have been sympathetic with Fascism. The *London Review of Reviews* comments: "In all the annals of Papal protests against the proceedings of the Italian governments . . . we can recall no language so strong as this, and no accents of indignation more sincere." The denunciation concludes:

It appears that a conception of the state is being revealed and declared that is incompatible with the Catholic conception, inasmuch as this new conception makes of the state an end, and of the citizens, of man, merely a means, monopolizing and absorbing everything in itself. It seems as though a real dualism of authority and of function were continuing to enable executive agents to judge in what way orders, good in themselves, are to be

carried out, these agents being men who, under new emblems and new names, are still the same fanatics as yesterday, still the same enemies of society and of religion.

An exiled professor of history at the University of Florence, Gaetano Salvemini, tells us that opposition to Mussolini is growing. A faction who desire to restore a republic by constitutional means, another who desire the same end by revolutionary means, and a socialistic faction who want to establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in place of that of Mussolini are at work. "Italy has become a factory" he writes in the *New Republic* (New York) "producing leaflets and pamphlets of clandestine propaganda. These are distributed by tens of thousands, disseminating news and documents which the official press ignores, preaching hatred and resistance."

We read with wonder Mussolini's New Year's Message, which includes the following order: "I demand that Fascists be brothers to one another." In the *Manchester Guardian* an Italian journalist of note comments: "Each attempt on the life of Mussolini delays normalization by a year, while a successful attempt would plunge us into chaos." Nor is Mussolini doing anything to lessen the gravity of this state of affairs, we read. "Instead of looking for possible successors, Mussolini is solely occupied in crippling possible rivals in his own ranks," says an Italian sociologist, also in the *Guardian*.



THE NEW BOOKS

In Economic and Social Fields

Main Street and Wall Street. By William Z. Ripley. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 367 pp.

Within the past twelvemonth, through the publication of three trenchant articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Professor Ripley's name has become known far and wide in the business world. So far as academic circles were concerned, his reputation had been established for more than twenty-five years. In the magazine articles he gave the results of a quarter-century of fact-finding and study. The same thing may be said of the present book, which contains the material of the three articles and much in addition. It is a straightforward analysis of the facts of modern business. The reader may be as sure of these facts as is the author; for their essential truth has not been challenged. Corporation publicity, untiringly advocated by Professor Ripley, is the reform which it is hoped may bring other reforms in its train; but the work is full of constructive suggestions for bettering the conduct of modern business. An interesting feature of the book is the inclusion of an address on the corporation problem before the American Bar Association by Woodrow Wilson.

Municipal Finance. By A. E. Buck and others. Macmillan. 574 pp.

One could not find a better background for a study of finance systems of American cities than the work of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. That organization, during the past twenty years, has conducted surveys of not less than one hundred city governments in the United States and Canada. Mr. Buck and his associates have done well to avail themselves of the facts obtained through these investigations. The resulting book is a summary of information about city finance that no one who has to do with the subject, officially or unofficially, can afford to overlook or pass by.

New Tactics in Social Conflict. Edited by Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas. Vanguard Press. 240 pp.

This little book is made up from a verbatim report of addresses delivered at the last annual conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. This conference was concerned chiefly with the most recent phases of labor's attitude towards capitalism. Labor banking and "trade-union capitalism" came in for a general overhauling. There were some naïve outgivings—for example, the pathetic description by the president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor of his own predicament if the organization were in the banking business in time of strike: "As a banker I want peace and order; as a labor leader I want a fighting

organization." Nevertheless, most of those present at the conference seemed to be headed straight for the capitalistic flesh-pots.

Political and Industrial Democracy, 1776-1926. By W. Jett Lauck. Funk and Wagnalls Company. 384 pp.

A book chiefly valuable for the light it throws on the more recent practical attempts toward democracy in industry—notably, "the B. & O. plan," the experiment of "Golden Rule" Nash, the Mitten, or Philadelphia Rapid Transit scheme, and the Ford system. The author accepts the Mitten plan as the basis for a general constructive policy. In this plan there is no discrimination against labor unions and in the provision for collective bargaining a way is left open for coördination between the unions and the management.

American Labor and American Democracy. By William English Walling. Harper & Brothers. 2 volumes in one. 243, 184 pp.

"American Labor" in the title of this book means organized labor. The American Federation of Labor has a political method of its own, as well as a policy for the government of industry. Mr. Walling gives an exposition of each. He has long been in close touch with the heads of American labor unions and, in the words of Prof. John R. Commons, his book is "as nearly an authoritative statement of the principles and policies of the American organized labor movement of the past forty years as any statement that could be issued by any person not an active official or working member of an American union."

Adult Education. By Joseph K. Hart. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 354 pp.

Dr. Hart makes humiliating exposures of certain of our educational stupidities and futilities; but his criticism has a constructive aim. His chapter on the Danish Folk Schools is full of helpful suggestion. No one will finish a reading of Dr. Hart's book without a vivid conception of the importance of adult education in the general scheme of life.

Education for a Changing Civilization. By William Heard Kilpatrick. Macmillan. 148 pp.

All are agreed that "the times have changed," but some of the conservatives still insist that education changed its way before civilization did. At all events, Dr. Kilpatrick shows how the new school methods are adapting themselves to a new set of conditions in the homes from which the pupils come. The school is becoming more of a "living place" than the home itself.

The Social Worker in a Hospital Ward. By Elsie Wulkop. With comment by Richard C. Cabot, M.D. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 357 pp.

A great human institution like the Massachusetts General Hospital offers many enlightening instances of the relation of social work to medical practice. Miss Wulkop has collected instructive "cases" in the recent records of the hospital and the narration of these, supplemented by Dr. Cabot's illuminating comments, makes an exceeding instructive and interesting book. Compiled primarily for social workers, this untechnical narrative appeals to all who are interested in the human drama.

American Villagers. By C. Luther Fry. Doran. 201 pp.

The Institute of Social and Religious Research is doing a good work in pushing its inquiries concerning American rural life. One of their most recent contributions is a study of the economic, social, and religious conditions in country villages. The Institute conducted field studies of the actual conditions in each of 140 villages. It also assembled

the more important published material about villages and was fortunate in getting access to hitherto unpublished data in the files of the United States Census Bureau. The material thus obtained and digested by Dr. Fry makes up the present volume. It is fresh and authoritative and by no means lacking in human interest.

American Agricultural Villages. By Edmund de S. Brunner, Gwendolyn S. Hughes, Marjorie Patten. 326 pp.

This volume contains the detailed results obtained by the field workers of the Institute of Social and Religious Research in agricultural villages distributed throughout the country. The information here given should go far to dispel the ignorance that generally prevails concerning American villages. It has been thought, for instance, that villages have been rapidly declining as an element in rural life. These books show on the contrary that they are increasing in both number and population. There are more than 18,000 villages in the country and they house one-eighth of the population.

History

Main Currents in the History of American Journalism. By Willard Grosvenor Bleyer. Houghton Mifflin Company. 474 pp. Ill.

An attractive, well-written account of American newspapers and their makers told by the Professor of Journalism at the University of Wisconsin. Most of the chapters are built around the outstanding editors—Bennett, Greeley, Bowles, Dana, Pulitzer, and others. The late Colonel Nelson of the *Kansas City Star* receives a well-deserved tribute as an editor who wrote nothing himself, but decided what should be written and blocked out aggressive policies.

Jefferson and the Embargo. By Louis Martin Sears. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 350 pp.

Professor Sears treats the embargo that was maintained in Jefferson's administration as a distinct phase in American foreign policy. Perhaps nothing that Jefferson did as President was so bitterly assailed from all quarters as was the embargo. Yet, as Dr. Sears shows, it was a measure adopted with the object of preserving peace at a time when the nation was in grave danger of attack from two rival powers, Great Britain and France. This study of the embargo involves a careful examination of the contemporary expressions of opinion in every section of the country.

The World's Debt to the Irish. By James J. Walsh. Boston: The Stratford Company. 438 pp.

Ireland has again taken her place among the nations and a fair appraisal of the contribution that the Irish people has made to civilization through the ages is quite in order. In "The World's Debt to the Irish" Dr. Walsh attempts such an appraisal. He makes out a strong case. Humanity

is certainly far richer for what the Irish race has done in the world. From Ireland's early missionaries to Scotland, England, and the Continent of Europe to the later influence of Irish literature and music, the world's debt to St. Patrick's people has been heavy and continuing. Some items we had almost forgotten. Dr. Walsh reminds us that the use of rhyme in poetry was an Irish invention, and we should call that a rather important service, even if the modernist poets do think that they can dispense with it. All in all, the Irish achievements make an impressive total; yet we do not find in Dr. Walsh's book a solitary reference to Tammany Hall!

America in the Struggle for Czechoslovak Independence. By Charles Pergler. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company. 113 pp.

The importance of the part played by Americans of Bohemian (Czech) and Hungarian (Slovak) origin in the launching of the Czechoslovak Republic has never been adequately recognized. This modest and clearly written statement puts on the record certain facts that might easily be overlooked by the future historian and shows how the American war policy worked for the establishment of the new Republic. The author is an American citizen of Czech birth and next to President Masaryk himself he probably did as much as anyone in America to bring about the freedom of his mother country.

Highways and Byways of the Civil War. By Clarence Edward MacCartney. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company. 273 pp. Ill.

Descriptions of Southern battlefields, with many entertaining anecdotes. The statements concerning the leadership and strength of the opposing forces seem to have an authoritative basis and the book is readable throughout.

International Affairs

Our Far Eastern Assignment. By Felix Morley. With an introduction by the Hon. Henry Morgenthau. Doubleday, Page & Co. 199 pp. Ill.

A compact summary of present-day Far Eastern politics, as analyzed by a member of the Baltimore *Sun* staff. Recent developments in Japan and China strongly impressed Mr. Morley during his visit to those countries last year—especially the expansion of the suffrage in Japan and the ferment of political and economic unrest in China. Mr. Morley has written a book of facts, not of opinions.

Facing Europe. By Frederick Bausman. Century Company. 340 pp.

A searching inquiry into America's post-war status, having special reference to Europe's growing and unconcealed hostility and the situation in which we are exposed to the possibilities of a strong coalition against us. Judge Bausman reviews our relations with the Allies from the period of neutrality to the Paris Conference and discusses with much freedom the individual attitudes of Sir

Edward Grey, President Wilson, Colonel House, Ambassador Page, and the members of the Cabinet. His conclusion is that the Allies simply made use of us to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. Needless to say, Judge Bausman opposes the cancellation of the war debts.

Slaves and Ivory. By Major Henry Darley. London: H. F. and G. Witherby. 236 pp. Ill.

The author of this work is one of those venturesome British explorers who are able by sheer force of personality to go among wild peoples and penetrate the remote parts of the earth. Residence in the Sudan and Uganda gave him contacts with the Abyssinian slave raiders and the information thus gained makes up the major portion of this book. The facts here made known to the world are of prime importance. The British Government has repeatedly declined to tell what it knows about Abyssinian slave-trading. At present the chief hope for exposure and abolition of the evil seems to lie with the Slavery Commission of the League of Nations.

THE PRINTED DRAMA

IT SEEMS unfair to crowd our notes on the drama into this small space. It is unfair, but not as much so as it might be if there were many plays of distinction being printed. There is, however, considerable to interest the theater-goer, and there are many publications useful to Little Theater groups.

As usual Burns Mantle's "Best Plays of 1925-26" (Dodd, Mead) is excellent. It tells us that 175 new plays were produced on the professional stage in America, of which one fifth succeeded, and that 40 musical comedies were presented, of which one half were successful. Mr. Mantle chooses as the ten best plays of the year "Craig's Wife," "The Great God Brown," "The Dybbuk," "The Enemy," "The Last of Mrs. Cheney," "Bride of the Lamb," "Young Woodley," "The Butter and Egg Man," and "The Wisdom Tooth." Mr. Mantle gives the story of these, quoting several scenes entire from each. In addition he gives a mass of data concerning the theater in New York, Chicago and points west.

That Those Who See May Read

By far the greatest number of published plays are those which have been produced during the past season on the stage. Of these doubtless "The Captive," by Edouard Bourdet, translated by Arthur Hornblow, Jr. (Brentano), is the most discussed. This is a "delicately understanding" translation of a play which is, according to the critics, "a work of art, a tragic drama," in spite of a psychopathic subject which has caused it to be classed by many with the group of presentations that are bringing the stage into disrepute. It tells the story of a woman's struggle against her love for another woman.

"Caponsacchi," by Arthur Goodrich and Rose A. Palmer (Appleton), has been the sensation of Walter

Hampden's winter repertory. "I regard this play as the chief event of the dramatic season in New York," says William Lyon Phelps. The chief character is the hero—or villain, as you will—of Browning's "The Ring and the Book."

"Ned McCobb's Daughter" (Scribner), by Sidney Howard, is "compounded of a spicy mixture of Maine shrewdness and sentiment," with a dash of Boston and New York slums thrown in for good measure, says Larry Barretto in the *Bookman*.

John Masefield's adaptation of "The Witch," by the Norwegian playwright, Wiers-Jenssen (Brentano), is entirely too grim a recital of the sixteenth century's treatment of witches to have made a long stay in New York.

Werfel's splendid drama, "Juarez and Maximilian" (Simon and Schuster), is a profoundly moving story of Mexico's most dramatic time, translated by Ruth Langner, which should undoubtedly attract the attention of serious amateurs. John Garrett Underhill's translation of Benavente's "strangely disturbing, or disturbingly strange, drama 'Saturday Night'" (to quote Walter Pritchard Eaton, the dean of New York dramatic critics), was issued probably as a help to those who saw Miss Le Gallienne's production and were baffled, but inspired, by its symbolism.

"Still Waters" (French), by Augustus Thomas, is a play dealing with prohibition, interesting and craftsmanlike, which provoked much comment upon its presentation in Washington, D. C. George Kelly, the author of "Craig's Wife" and the "Show Off," has written a delightful study of a Pennsylvania Dutch community in "Daisy Mayme" (Little, Brown).

Laurence Stallings and Maxwell Anderson have published "Three Plays" (Harcourt), of which "What Price Glory" is the redeeming feature. "What Price Glory," Mr. Eaton says, "has less

pasteboard and more sense of singing reality than any other war play yet written. The other two plays, "First Flight," and "The Buccaneer," are inferior attempts at romantic drama.

Plays to Read

Enough for the plays which have gotten off to a head start by stage interpretation. Undoubtedly the most discussed of the plays which have not been produced (and these skits probably never will be) is Bernard Shaw's latest, "Translations and Tomfooleries" (Brentano). Only one justification for this book of "literary clowning"—so-called by the *Atlantic Monthly*—is found: "Jitta's Atonement," the one long piece and the only translation in the book, is a drama adapted from the German of Siegfried Trebitsch, and is a deserved tribute from Shaw to the man who has translated all of his works into German—oh, task of love! The rest, says the *London Review of Reviews*, "are so trivial and absurd that they might have been left undisturbed in his bottom drawer."

A. A. Milne's "Success" (Putnam) shows his usual able craftsmanship and interpretive powers. D. H. Lawrence, in "David" (Knopf), has done a highly original and poetic adaptation of the story of David and Saul. Clemence Dane's "Granite" (Macmillan) should add one more solid block to Miss Dane's very solid reputation as a leading playwright. It is a masterly tragedy which should soon be seen on the stage.

Edna St. Vincent Millay has been kind to her loving public and to amateur theatrical groups, in publishing her three best known plays, "Two Slaterns and a King," "Aria da Capo," and "The Lamp and the Bell," in one—"Three Plays" (Harper).

For the Little Theater

Each year sees an increased volume of plays in print designed for the use of Little Theater and other amateur groups, for "strolling mummers" and schools. A few excellent collections have appeared recently which might satisfy the wants of a wide variety of groups. "Plays for Strolling Mummers," edited by Frank Shay (Appleton), consists of eight light, gay and brief plays demanding only the simplest of stages. The *Drama Magazine* reviews this collection favorably, as it does also Kathleen Norris's and Dan Toheroh's "The Kelly Kid" (Baker and Company, Boston) and Mark Reed's "She Would and She Did" (Samuel French). This last is a play for a more intelligent and sophisticated audience than is "The Kelly Kid."

Austin Strong, the author of the beloved "Seventh Heaven" of theatrical fame, has a one act thriller and two other short pieces in a collection called "The Drums of Oude" (Appleton). "Canadian

Plays," edited by Vincent Massey (Macmillan) is a collection by Canadian authors of very good short dramas that have been produced at the Hart House Theater in Toronto. (The Hart House Theater is one of the few Little Theater organizations which have won nation-wide notice.)

Gilbert Emery's "Riches" (Appleton) serves humor and pathos to us in a boarding house; Charles Divine's "Post-Mortems" is an amusing skit about two burglars and their hosts in a game of bridge; "Sappho and Phaon," by M. Osborne (Macmillan), is a pretty bad example of pseudo-poetic drama; "One of the Family," by Kenneth Webb (Appleton), is a farcial comedy which should please the public; "The Bungalow Bride," by E. and A. Kidder (French), is a one-act mother-in-law trifle; "Revue" (Appleton) contains fourteen skits recommended by Mr. Ziegfeld and scorned by Walter Pritchard Eaton (take your choice), "New Plays for Mummers," by Glenn Hughes (Seattle: University of Washington Bookstore), is perhaps too strictly literary burlesque.

We are saving the best for the last, however. Samuel French and Company, espousing the cause of the amateur whose difficulties in selecting and procuring suitable plays in inexpensive form are well known to anyone who has ever tried it, have issued a collection of sixteen full-length plays in paper covers, many of them Broadway successes, such as "The Fool," by Channing Pollock, and "So This Is London," by Arthur Goodrich. We suggest that the Chairman of the Play Committee, or whatever the person upon whom the responsibility of discovering a suitable play is called, write to Mr. French for aid.

For the Little Theater also are two books on play production, both exceedingly valuable. Of "Little Theater Organization and Management: For Community, University and School," by Alexander Dean (Appleton), the *Drama Magazine* says, "It is the first to be devoted to the complex subject that daily becomes more important and interesting to the American public. It answers a thousand questions . . . it sums up all of the best that has heretofore been written on its subject . . . it will be widely circulated, read, and used." Mr. Dean writes from the background of a large and brilliant experience.

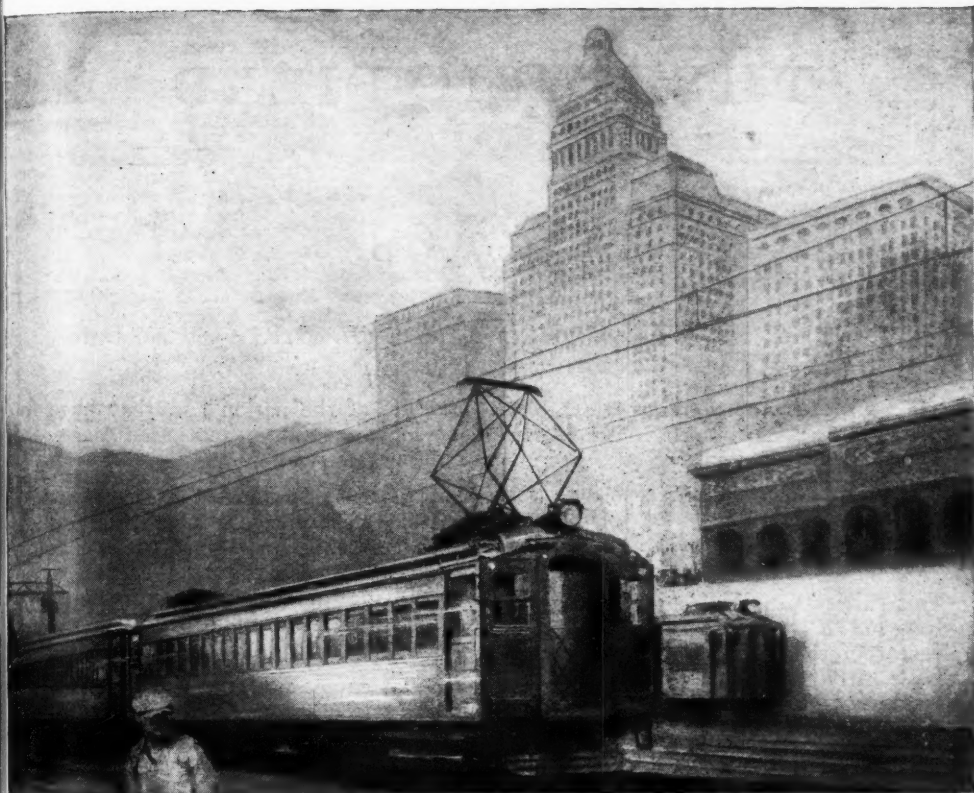
Milton Smith's "Book of Play Production" (Appleton), with an introduction by Brander Matthews, tells you everything about how to do it. "It is a simple, sane and practical book for the use of schools, colleges and Little Theaters," says Walter Pritchard Eaton in the *Herald-Tribune Books* (New York).

Two much-talked-of new books on the theater are "Sheridan to Robertson," by E. B. Watson (Harvard University), a study of the nineteenth-century London stage, and R. H. Coats's "John Galsworthy as a Dramatic Artist" (Scribner).



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"I WILL" *says Chicago's motto*
"WE DID" *said the Illinois Central*



General Electric supplied all of the control equipment and the air compressors as well as 260 of the powerful driving motors used in the new electric cars of the Illinois Central. Further evidence of Chicago's improvement is shown in the G-E lights on the famous State Street "White Way" and in the thousands of G-E street lights all over the city that are giving Chicago better illumination. Wherever G-E products go, their accomplishment arouses a just pride.

Chicago is jubilant now that the Illinois Central has electrified its tracks between Michigan Boulevard and the lake.

This is significant. For Chicago, the city made by the railroads, is now being made beautiful by the railroads.

Instances of civic improvement such as this are becoming more numerous. Public spirit and co-operation plus electricity can accomplish much in any community.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

THE MUSIC FIELD

The Music of the Piano Runs Through Two Centuries

ONE of the most treasured exhibits in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art and one that attracts visitors from all over the world is a musical instrument of quaint design, a piano far different in appearance from those of the present day.

This particular instrument was made in Italy in 1720 by Cristofori, the earliest inventor of the pianoforte. His first was made in 1709 and but two of his instruments now exist, the other one being carefully preserved in Florence.

The invention of Cristofori gave to the world for the first time a musical instrument whose strings were vibrated by a row of hammers controlled by keys. In this lay the radical change from the harpsichord and similar instruments that then held sway. And through this invention was gradually developed the widest range of musical expression that any single instrument has as yet provided.

It was many years, however, before the possibilities of the new form of instrument became generally recognized and regarded as a successful rival of the harpsichord. During most of this time it remained a rudimentary affair that was not a pianoforte in the modern sense.

It was not in fact until after the piano began to be made in America near the historic date of 1776 that some of the greatest improvements in it were made: improvements that gave it a place of outstanding importance in the social and cul-

tural life of the nation and that have placed it in one form or another in American homes everywhere.

Many of these instruments that after years of service have outworn their usefulness are still retained for the memories that cling to them. But the fact remains that in millions of our homes today the piano occupies the post of honor it so well deserves.

To what extent will the rising generation be encouraged to share in the rich heritage this instrument brings to it?

In these later years the phonograph and the radio, as well as the player piano, have been carrying the world's best music into all classes of homes without requiring any previous study or musical training. They have already played and will continue to play a highly valuable part in the spread and enjoyment of good music.

These marvels of reproduction, however, do not take the place of such instruments as the piano, organ, violin and others allowing individual expression of the music that to greater or less extent is born in every soul.

There is a vast difference between merely listening to the music of others and participating one's own self in its production. Hence the growing conviction that a little training in music each day in earlier years and in the use of some musical instrument should be the privilege of every child. New ways are being opened up to accomplish this.

